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TEACHING OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN NEPAL¹

Sridhar K. Khatri

Introduction

International relations has been taught in Nepal for over the last 40 years, but has never emerged as an independent discipline on its own. There are a number of factors responsible for this situation, among which include the political conditions in the country, the rather slow growth of the manpower needed to teach the subjects, as well as the poor resource base from which it has had to operate.

It is the contention of this paper that time is now ripe for international relations to stand on its own in Nepal. But to understand the status of teaching of international relations in the country, one needs to first understand how it has grown within the umbrella of political science itself.

Political Science in Nepal

Political Science as an independent discipline was late in emerging in Nepal. During the 104 years Rana rule it was a forbidden subject and had no opportunity to lay its foundation since books on the subject could not even be imported by the ordinary people in the country. This did not however completely prevent the study of politics in general since learning of Eastern philosophical text could not be prevented. Mythological texts contained in the stories of the *Vedas*, *Mahabharata*, *Ramayana* and *Manusmriti* contained a rich supply of political philosophy, while important political works, such as Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, also provided knowledge of important political treatises.²

After the overthrow of the Rana autocracy in 1950-51, political science was introduced in Nepal not as an independent discipline, but as part of civics in matriculation examinations. Even then, teaching on the subject focused mostly on political thought and constitutional development, and only

partially on public administration. This was so because, due to the lack of development in the discipline in previous years, colleges in Nepal were affiliated to Patna University, in India, and followed the hand-me-down British models followed by Indian universities.

The system continued till the establishment of Tribhuvan University in 1959, when changes were gradually introduced in the curriculum to suit the national requirements. Intermediate level teaching (lower undergraduate level) focused on civic rights and obligations both at the theoretical and practical levels, with emphasis on the legal system of the country (*Mulki Ain*) and policies of the Panchayat political system in the country which had been introduced in the early 1960s. At the degree level (upper undergraduate level), public administration courses were introduced with greater focus on modern governments and working of the Nepalese Constitution. The post-graduate level was devoted to advance studies on Nepalese political system and incorporated studies on political system of the United States, United Kingdom, Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, along with those of neighbouring countries like India, Pakistan and China.

With the introduction of the New Educational Plan in the early 1970s, the educational system was thoroughly overhauled at all levels, including the primary and secondary levels, with new emphasis on also given to vocational training (Sharma 1989). At University level, teaching methods shifted from the hand-me-down British-Indian system to the American semester system. During this period syllabi were further refined to include courses on China and Japan and new attention was given to the study of behavioural and interdisciplinary approaches, while dissertation was introduced for qualified students who obtained 55 percent in the first part of their MA exams. This system continued till 1979-80, when political movement against the Panchayat system suddenly erupted through mobilization of students on colleges and University campuses. The first casualty of the political movement was the educational system as it was the first area in which the authority compromised, as it also agreed on a referendum to decide the fate of the Panchayat political system. Higher education reverted to the earlier annual system from the semester system and courses were restructured in an *ad hoc* manner without conceptualizing the purposes they were going to serve.

The inextricable link between the political system and the teaching of political science in Nepal, as well as international relations, cannot but be emphasized. Whereas under the Ranas, the teaching of political science was considered to be a non-starter, under the Panchayat system with the King in

absolute power it could be done so as long as it was "politically correct". Although it is undeniable that political science as a discipline gradually grew both in the area of teaching and research under the Panchayat period, it is nevertheless debatable whether there truly existed an "environment conducive to academic exercises". A prominent example of this debilitating nexus was the abrupt dismissal in 1975 of a pioneering political science teacher with democratic inclination when he showed sympathy with the cause during students' unrest in the country (Jaiswal 1998).

If there ever was a golden era for the discipline of political science in Nepal it came after the People's Movement in 1990 when the Panchayat system collapsed and democracy was restored in the country. The irony is that it is not that the study of political science developed more systematically within this new political milieu in the heavily laden University bureaucracy in Nepal,³ but that it found an outlet outside the traditional academic turf. Political freedom under democracy made possible the formation of groups and association which could conduct research and studies without political consideration and with a mind to quality. The availability then of funds from foreign donor agencies for studies on nascent democratic process made it possible to conduct research that were inconceivable before. Although the University authority discourages its manpower going outside the traditional circle for fear of losing its human capital, it has been able to provide neither the resources nor the incentives to utilize the talents of members of its academic community effectively. As one observer has noted, there is a tendency both in the department and the administration of the University to muddle through each and every new challenges instead of meeting them headon with imaginative responses (Dahal 1996:121).

In this environment was thus born Political Science Association of Nepal (POLSAN), which produced seminal works on the 1991 elections in Nepal (POLSAN 1991) and a detailed study on political parties and parliamentary process in the country (POLSAN 1992). Although the group spilt after a couple of years due to personality clashes among its leading figures and closer association of these individuals to different political parties in the country, both groups have nevertheless been able maintain a healthy competition, producing different journals and holding workshops and seminar on topical themes. Other groups, like the Nepal Foundation for Advanced Studies (NEFAS) and Nepal Center for Contemporary Studies (NCCS), and older institution like Institute for Integrated Development Studies (IIDS), have been able to fill the lacuna left to some extent by the academic community.

What is even more interesting is that, although the Department of Political Science in Kirtipur was considered to be the focal point for academic studies, Prithivi Narayan Campus in Pokhara has been more successful in bringing out regularly its *Journal of Political Science*, whereas the central department with all its high level professors has not been able to continue its own journal, *The Nepalese Journal of Political Science*, for the past two decades.

Studies in International Relations

International Relations as a field of study in Tribhuvan University exists under the umbrella of the political science department, with all the assets and liability in which the department itself operates. During the early years of affiliation with Patna University, the course structure at intermediate level included international politics which was identical to that of the Indian university. The only modification introduced was that teachers could update the students by introducing recent trends. After Tribhuvan University was established, the subject was included at the post-graduate level and international organization and diplomacy was added as a single subject, with international law as compulsory part of the requirements.

Under the semester system, introduced in the early 1970s, the syllabi for studies in this field became little more intense as well as refined. In addition to the regular course on international politics, another course on advanced international relations was introduced as an option. International organization was offered as a separate optional course, as was the course on foreign policy and diplomacy, which now examined the foreign policies of major powers and neighbouring countries in greater depth. Regional studies were also offered, with one course on South and Southeast Asia and the other on West Asia and Africa. Nepalese studies was also introduced, which focused entirely on Nepal's foreign policy. All these courses were offered in addition to comparative studies of governments of US, UK, USSR, China and Japan.⁴

However, when the Panchayat authorities capitulated after the political movement in 1979-80 and the semester system came to an end, the trend towards greater specialization in international relations was reversed as the annual system of teaching was reintroduced with generalized courses. As a consequence, regional studies were cut down drastically and courses on international organization and diplomacy were merged into a single unit, while course offering on foreign policy of the major powers was discarded. Even the course on advanced international relations was done away with and some of its topics merged haphazardly with the regular course on

international politics. Expediency gave way to systematic planning and the muddling through exercise took over until a new curriculum was introduced in 1999 within the traditional annual system of education.

Developing new courses or updating the old ones are not usually done scientifically and are largely based on an "amalgam of previous experiences."⁹ The new course structure at the post-graduate level attempts to synthesize the best of what was offered in the semester system with the needs of the annual system. While course structures are updated somewhat in each of the earlier subjects, regional studies is given more emphasis with the addition of Western Europe and Western Hemisphere as separate courses on top those offered earlier.⁵ A more prominent change is seen at the graduate level courses which was made from a two-year to a three-year course, with the addition of a second optional course on international relations and inclusion of arms control as part of the course on international law. The most notable is the addition of a new field of study on national security, which is offered only at the Military Campus, in Kharipati, which is also affiliated to Tribhuvan University.

Unlike the impetus which political studies received in Nepal outside the University circle with the restoration of democracy in 1990, there was no similar opportunities for studies in international relations since funding available in the country was mostly, though not always, available in areas of democratic development in Nepal. The high point in the growth of studies on international relations occurred in the 1980s, independent of what political science was then experiencing as a discipline. The development took place not in the area of teaching, but in the area of research which the Center for Nepal and Asian Studies (CNAS) of Tribhuvan University had then committed to undertake under its new Director.

Although CNAS remains the bedrock for quality research in Nepal in such areas as culture, history, linguistic and anthropology, it started branching out into the field of international relations in the late 1970s by recruiting the needed manpower. The Center was, however, able to define its scope and perimeter of work only in the 1980s with clear-cut programmes. For most part of that decade, the Center functioned as "Think Tank" of the country on current international issues through its research studies and topical workshops and seminars. An international seminar was held in 1985 on regional security issues in South Asia, with luminaries from the region (Khatri 1987). The Centre also started a bi-annual journal, entitled *Strategic Studies Series*, in addition to publication of *CNAS Yearbook* which provided an overview of

political developments in all the SAARC member countries. Discussion programmes on current issues were also held regularly and its proceedings were published in its *CNAS Forum*. It published *Documentation on SAARC* for the years 1988, 1990 and 1990-95, cataloguing books and articles published in South Asia relating to regionalism. In addition, the Center also had a manpower development programme that encouraged country specialization in each of the SAARC member countries, in addition to Japan and China.⁶

This promising period in the study of international relations was short lived. When a new Director took over the Center after the People's Movement in 1990, the original focus was lost. Subsequent directors have displayed neither the interest nor the skills necessary to promote international studies at the institution. Since then, most of the original manpower are no longer with the Center and those working at the institution have largely re-diverted their attention more to studies on democratic development in Nepal than on international issues.

Teaching Faculty in Political Science/International Relations

With four universities operating in Nepal in recent years, teaching of political science/international relations is confined to only Tribhuvan University. The University has 114 different campuses throughout the country, out of which political science is taught in 24. Post-graduate level courses in political science is offered today in nine different campuses of the major cities, out of which, aside from Kathmandu, four (Pokhara, Birgunj, Janakpur and Biratnagar) have been teaching the courses at this level for nearly a decade.⁷ The expansion in the number of campuses teaching post-graduate level courses have taken place not only due to increasing demands, but largely as a result of pressures from political leaders in their constituency to bring higher level education to their community. As course requirements are uniform throughout the country, this creates some difficulty since there is a dearth of specialized manpower needed to teach the various subjects. There is also discrepancy in the standard of teaching since the Kirtipur Campus is top heavy with senior teaching faculties, while those campuses outside the capital often have to do with junior teaching staffs or young recruits who have graduated only recently. The problem is further aggravated by the fact that aside from the Central Library in Kirtipur, in Kathmandu, library facility in other cities are hardly adequate to cater to the needs of the academic community.

The Kirtipur Campus, which is the focal point of Tribhuvan University, epitomizes both the strengths and weaknesses of the teaching standards in political science in Nepal. Currently, there are 19 teachers in the department, out of which nine have doctoral degrees. Out of this total number, there are 10 professors, 7 associate professors and 2 lecturers. Although this represents an impressive work force, there are no supporting mechanisms within the University to provide professional growth of its teaching faculty. Despite the change in syllabi from time to time, teaching often involves regurgitating the same materials with very little emphasis in keeping up with developments on subject matters at the international level. Even the impressive list of PhDs and professors become important only in term of status and job security since only a handful in the department are actually involved in creative research work or professional development of their skills. This becomes a problem not only in further developing the teaching manpower within the country, but also in building the manpower who may be recognized regionally and internationally. This problem is magnified several folds with those involved in teaching and doing research on international relations since, with only four or five people involved in the field, the output and impact becomes even less.

Subject Popularity and Prospects

Despite the growth in the number of qualified teachers in Nepal and the expansion in the number campuses teaching political science/international relations in recent years, there is a relative decline in the quality and quantity of students taking the courses years.⁸ In Kirtipur Campus alone, every year more than 200 students are admitted at the post-graduate level, but only 35-40 regular students attend classes during the first year. The number actually dwindles to half that number during the second year of classes. This is quite a contrast to a time in the 1980s when more than 200 students were admitted for the first year course and the group had to be split into two sections to accommodate the students who actually attended the classes regularly.⁹ To teachers who have put in decades of service, it is disconcerting to increasingly see student in recent years walking around campus and classes with only a single flimsy notepad for all courses with never any books in hand. The tendency of students to largely rely on lectures notes and cheap books geared towards meeting only examination requirements has sapped the creative potentials of students who are likely to be future national assets in the country.

There are a number of factors that has led to this situation. First, even though a quota of 50 is fixed for admission each year, pressures from student unions within the University and frequent concessions by University authorities and governments to student pressures open the floodgates without regard to the impact it might have on quality education. Second, nominal entrance exams are taken, with almost an assurance that those who appear for the exam will be admitted. There are also no interviews taken in the selections process to choose the most competent applicants. Third, for the past six years, the University has also done away with attendance requirements that used to be somewhat scrupulously adhered to in the past. And, most important of all, in recent years future employment prospects for post-graduate students in political science are no better or worse than in other social science discipline, except for those in sociology and population studies.

Political science once used to boast about the popularity of the subject in Nepal and was one time a training ground for future government officers and administrators in the country. It has produced prime minister, countless ministers and ambassadors, but today with the service sector in the country expanding rapidly and the government receding from its earlier position as the largest employer in Nepal, it is not clear what kind of manpower the discipline is to carter to for the needs of the society. It is not difficult to see that there is a positive correlation between the decline in the popularity of the subject with the output the discipline has to offer to the country. There is, therefore, a need in teaching of political science and international relations to tailor its syllabi which will provide job opportunities to its students through quality education, without sacrificing requirements that the disciplines demands.

Course Contents and Library Facilities

The conscious efforts of political science teachers in the early years to structure courses that reflect the national conditions have been met to some extent. But, the tendency to use models from Indian universities, and sometimes of the other neighbouring countries, is still very strong. This has both positive and negative implications: positive, because it ensures that contents of the national syllabus does not fall below the regional standards; and negative, because it excludes the possibility of learning from other models of education, particularly the Western model, which have been the driving force in this field.

Although courses at the University may not be as up-to-date as those of leading American and British universities, they are nevertheless very broad in content. However, the problem arises in two areas: teaching and access to quality literatures on the subject matter. As there is no mechanism for faculty development in the University to provide refresher courses and further orientation to the teachers, there is always the drawback that the instructors themselves may be behind on the latest trends. Often course contents can sound impressive, but the teaching level may not be at par with which the courses were designed. For instance, such topics as conflict resolution and negotiation would be hard to teach without significant understanding of their theoretical foundation or important cases studies. Even such newly introduced topic at an undergraduate level on national security can be impressive on paper, but not so when it comes to actual teaching since the expertise needed to teach the course may be lacking.

The other problem has to do with access to quality literatures since books and articles on the recommended readings list for the courses may not be available even in the Central Library in the capital. Small libraries in campuses are resource starved and even the Central Library often finds it difficult to order books printed in the West because of the astronomical costs involved.

The same also applies to important journals on international affairs. A rough survey taken by the writer for this paper on the periodical holdings in the Central Library shows only 22 international journals are received today on a regular basis. Out of this number, 12 are received by the University through donations from local embassies or international agencies. The Central Library has impressive collection of *Foreign Affairs* starting from 1939 to 1980, but with very little regularity after that period. Important journals, such as *Foreign Policy* and *International Security*, do not even exist in the Library holdings, while other journals of well repute (*Pacific Affairs*, *International Organization*, *Annals*, *China Quarterly*, *Current History*, *International Affairs* (London), and even *India Quarterly*) which were available for many years, if not decades, are no longer in the Library's ordering list. The void in publications from strategic studies centers from South Asia alone suggests that it is not only the financial costs that is involved, but rather poor management of the journal section in the Library and equally poor coordination between the department and the Library. The Central Library has within the last couple of years introduced a handful of computers to provide students and teachers access to Internet for research purposes. But, without

proper orientation to teachers and students on possibilities available for research in the cyberspace, the gesture so far remains symbolic.

Quality and Quantity of Research in International Relations

As we have seen before, there is a division of labor between teaching and research in political science/international relations between the department and CNAS. During the earlier 1980s when CNAS had a strong section on international studies, many scholars from the department were recruited full time and part time as well to meet the programme requirements. In the short years the Centre was intensely involved in this area, its contribution was widely recognized in the region and a few of the highly recognized regional experts used to also contribute to its journal, *Strategic Studies Series*. Since the 1990s, however, the Centre has not been able to maintain the same reputation with the sparse publications it has brought out in this field.

In recent years, research output in Nepal has come out more as individual endeavours of scholars than through support from academic institutions. Baral (1990) has led the way with varying publications ranging from regional migration and ethnicity to sub-regional cooperation.¹⁰ Others have specialized on regional cooperation or security issues.¹¹ Some of them have obtained international recognition by being affiliated in the board of editors in international journals, such as *Contemporary South Asia* (Oxford University) and *South Asian Survey*, and also members of the Advisory Board of the Regional Center for Strategic Studies, in Colombo, Sri Lanka.

Despite the inconsistency in University policy towards teaching and research of international relations, the trend is increasingly in its favor. Out of a dozen doctoral dissertations given by the University in political science since 1980, at least four have been on international relations, which lags behind study of Nepalese politics and is almost on par with those on public administration. In the last eight years, over 26 percent of masters thesis written by students have been on international relations, out of which a majority have focused on foreign policy issues and others on the UN and such topical themes CTBT or intervention and international law.¹²

Conclusion and Suggestions

There is a strong case to support the establishment of a separate department of international relations in Tribhuvan University, especially after the long period of growth in the womb of the political science department. There is both a demand and a need for the subject, as well as adequate manpower required to teach it at the post-graduate level in Nepal. The idea of establishing an international relations department was once floated in 1991-92, but died easily due the inability of the proponents to sell the idea to the authorities in the University. However, before that can be done, there is need to prepare a conceptual paper outlining not only its objectives, but also the methods by which they could be met.

Till that time comes, there are a number of measures that need to be taken to strengthen the growth of the discipline in Nepal. They include the following:

- There is a need to develop area and theme specialist in international relations with specific area of expertise. The preference for generalist over specialist during the early years in development of political science in Nepal needs to be taken to the next stage by creating manpower who can effectively contribute to specific areas of needs.
- As any other discipline, international relations is not an island by itself, but depends on knowledge sharing with various other fields. Teaching of IR in the University has to go beyond the formalistic classical style of teaching by incorporating inter-disciplinary courses that can draw on current developments and on pertinent global issues such as the impact of WTO on trade, role of international financial institutions, management, population studies, and environmental and human security. For instance, the economics department already has a course on "international economics" and covers the same issues which students of IR also need to study. The same department also has a course on "international finance and economic cooperation" which it has not been able to teach because of the "lack of teachers" to cover the course.¹³ It is conceivable that since the later course covers such issues as "regional economic cooperation" which is covered under the study of regional organizations (or "regionalism") in political science, the two departments could pool their resources to cover the courses together. As it is beyond the scope of teachers even in political science department in the Kirtipur campus to teach these courses on their own, the department must draw on the teachers of other departments in the University to tackle these courses competently.¹⁴

- Manpower development in political science/international relations has to keep in mind how its products from the University will meet the needs of the society. It is not enough to impart theoretical knowledge that will not be sellable in the real world. There is need to make course programmes more practical which will provide education not only on what is happening, but also how things can be resolved. Providing students with practical on job experience with the numerous international organizations, groups, or even government ministries in the country is a possible option.
- A need for refresher programs for all teachers is desperately needed at all levels so that they may be able to keep themselves updated in their specific fields. Post-doctoral studies offered under the Fulbright Program offers such possibilities, but is severely limited in the number of grants offered to potential candidates. The University also needs to work out such programs with Ford Foundation, Carnegie Endowment, Japan Foundations, Asia Foundation and others in order to systematically upgrade the quality of its faculty. An additional option is also to establish exchange programs with other South Asian universities where scholars maybe able to conduct research for a period of 6-9 months. As it was done in the early years in the department of political science, scholars from other universities, particularly from the West, should also be encouraged to come and teach new courses at Tribhuvan University in a systematic and planned manner with the support of donor agencies.
- It is inconceivable that any discipline, including international relations, can grow in the University without adequate library facilities for both its students and teaching staffs. There is a strong need to review the *ad hoc* mechanism for coordination which currently exist between the department of political science and Central Library so that books and journal that are sorely needed can be obtained for use. It is important not only to prioritize the needs, but also to streamline the process so that libraries in Nepal can function as the foundation for higher education in Nepal, instead of operating as fiefdom of its own.
- As increasing research materials are becoming available on the web site, there is also a need to provide training to teachers and students on the use of the cyberspace. It is also conceivable that the creation of a web site at a regional level in South Asia with list of universities teaching and doing research on international relations would also be useful in learning from each other's experience. Such a web site could contain the list and

structure of courses on international relations with names of teachers/researchers who could act as contact points for individuals working in the area.

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Notes

1. Paper presented at Roundtable on "Teaching of International Relations in South Asian Universities," organized by the USEFI, New Delhi, India, April 30-May 1, 2001
2. For an overview of early years, see, B. C. Malla, "Development of the Study of Political Science in Nepal," in Prayag Raj Sharma, ed., *Social Science in Nepal: A Report of the proceedings of a Seminar on Social Science in Nepal held at INAS in October, 1973*, Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, Nepal, September, 1974, pp. 130-146. See also, Prachanda Pradhan, "Critique on Political Science in Nepal, *ibid.*, pp. 147-149.
3. One writer contends that "the trend" is no different between the earlier Panchayat system and present democracy since the objectivity required of the discipline is lacking even now. He suggests that whereas, on the one hand, scholars tend to blindly follow the party line for the own personal benefits, on the other, political parties "do not like objective analysis of politics, nor do they like critical appreciation of their roles." See, Ananta Raj Poudyal, "Political Science in Nepal," *The Kathmandu Post*, September 4, 1999, p. 4.
4. See, *Courses of Study (1977-1980): Political Science Degree in Humanities and Social Sciences*, Tribhuvan University, Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences, Dean's Office, Pokhara, Nepal.
5. See, *Political Science: MA Political Science Curriculum, 1999*, Faculty of Humanities and Sciences, Curriculum Development Center, TU, Kathmandu, Nepal.

6. For an important work produced during this period, see, Dhruva Kumar, *Mao and China's Foreign Policy Perspectives* (Kathmandu: CNAS: 1989).
7. The remaining four campuses where MA level courses were introduced only recently include: Dang, Nepalgunj, Surkhet and Mahendra Nagar.
8. Some actually believe that political science is in a "poor state of affairs." Among the reasons given are: failure of political scientists "to bring home to the society what political science really means and why it is indispensable for the overall development of the country"; and the lack of quality teachers since "it is not possible to get the right type of teachers in sufficient numbers if they are underpaid, are not motivated, have lower professional status and are not provided with attractive conditions of service." See, T. N. Jaiswal and Panna K. Amatya, "Development of Political Science in Nepal," in Prem K. Khatri, ed., *Social Sciences in Nepal: Some Thoughts and Search for Direction* (Kathmandu: CNAS, 1997), p. 55.
9. An assessment of the department made 18 years ago makes a very interesting point when the departments used to be "over-crowded by the student population which is increasing in recent years." See, Baral and Suwal, *op. cit.*, p. 95.
10. Lok Raj Baral, *Regional Migrations, Ethnicity and Security* (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1990); Lok Raj Baral, *Politics of Balanced Interdependence: Nepal And SAARC* (Delhi: Sterling, 1988). Lok Raj Baral, *The Regional Paradox: Essays in Nepali and South Asian Affairs* (Delhi: Adroit Publishers, 2000); Lok Raj Baral, ed., *Looking to the Future: Indo-Nepal Relations in Perspective* (Delhi: Anmol, 1996); and Muchkund Dubey, Lok Raj Baral, and Rehman Sobhan, eds., *South Asian Growth Quadrangle: Framework for Multifaceted Cooperation* (Delhi: Macmillan, 1999).
11. Sridhar K. Khatri, "A Decade of South Asian Regionalism," *Contemporary South Asia*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1991); Sridhar K. Khatri, "The Politics of Becoming a Community: Stages and Prerequisites," *South Asian Survey*, June 1998; Sridhar K. Khatri, "SAARC: Regionalism in the Shadow of Bilateralism," Paper presented at the Conference on *Multilateralism, Bilateralism and the Search for Security in Asia*, organized by the Centre for International Studies and the Asian Studies Centre, St. Antony's College, University of Oxford, 11-13 May 2000 (forthcoming); Sridhar K. Khatri, A. N. Ram, and Kant K.

Bhargava, eds., *South Asia 2010: Challenges and Opportunities* (New Delhi: Konark Publishers, 2001); Dhruba Kumar, ed., *Nepal's India Policy* (Kathmandu, CNAS, 1992); Dhruba Kumar, *South Asia After the Nuclear Test: Securing in Security*, CNAS Occasional Paper, September 1999; and Dhruba Kumar, "Trends in Security Studies in Nepal: Recent Trends and Future Directions," Dipankar Banerjee, ed., *Security Studies in South Asia: Change and Challenges* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2000), pp. 159-192.

12. Calculated for the years 1992-2000 from records in the Political Science Department, Kirtipur, Kathmandu, Nepal.
13. See, *Economics: MA Economics Curriculum, 1999*, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Curriculum Development Centre, TU, Kathmandu, Nepal, pp. 28-29, 48-49.
14. The Central Department of Economics already has a course of International Economics, and it covers the same issues which students of IR also need to study. The same department also has a course on International Finance and Economic Cooperation which has not been able to be taught because of the "lack of teachers" to cover the course. It is conceivable that since the latter course covers such issues as Regional Economic Cooperation which is covered under the study of regional organizations (or "regionalism") in political science, the two departments could complement each other in these areas. See, *Economics: MA Economics Curriculum, 1999*, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Curriculum Development Centre, TU, Kathmandu, Nepal, pp. 28-29, 48-49.

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SAANO DUMRE REVISITED: CHANGING MODELS OF ILLNESS IN A VILLAGE OF CENTRAL NEPAL¹

Dave Beine

Introduction

Nearly 25 years ago, anthropologist Harvey Blustain published an article introducing the various levels of medicine in the central Nepali village of Saano Dumre. This well cited article has become somewhat of a landmark piece in Nepali medical anthropology, and has served as a foundation for many other anthropologist's understandings of, and investigations into, health beliefs in various other parts of Nepal.

This current article, based on field research conducted in Saano Dumre in 1999, examines the apparent changes, which have taken place during the ensuing years. Using the methods of cognitive anthropology, the author has explored several health-related topics including categories of illness, treatment seeking order, influences upon health and perceived causes of illness (including factors which facilitate a greater susceptibility to illness), ideas about transmission of illness, villagers perceptions about what has changed over the past 25 years, and ideas regarding the efficacy of traditional and western medicines.

Although many changes have taken place in 25 years, it seems clear that the villagers of Saano Dumre are still practicing a pattern of medical pluralism characteristic of so many other parts of Nepal. The interesting feature, however, is that the form of medical pluralism being practiced in Saano Dumre, would actually be better defined as a hybrid system, combining features of both new (western) and old (traditional) into a single constantly modifying medical model.

Background

Situated in the shadow of Lig Lig Mountain² in the western mid-hills of Nepal is the village of Saano Dumre. The village consists of 150 houses spread across an entire hillside, with some homes resting on the ridge at 4,000 feet and others situated along the banks of the Chepe Kola River some 2,500 feet below. The village, which covers all of ward number two of Palantar Village Development Committee,³ is made up of several *gaus*⁴ (mostly caste-based neighborhoods or hamlets). The total population of the village is listed as 705 and is made up of Bhramin-Chettri (51 homes), Sarki/Kami/Damai (49 houses), Giri (30 houses) and Muslim (20 houses) caste divisions. The majority of the population is agriculturists (603 persons) and about half are reported as literate.⁵ It was also estimated that nearly 200 of the village's 360 males are working abroad in the Middle East, India, or Kathmandu.⁶ This would suggest that Saano Dumre now has much contact with the wider world, a theme that became apparent over the course of the research.

Anthropologist Harvey Blustain first put Saano Dumre on the map of South Asian anthropology in 1976. Blustain (1976), basing his conclusions on data gathered over an 18-month period from 1974 to 1976, described health beliefs and practices among the local villagers of Saano Dumre. This well cited article, part of a special issue of *Contributions to Nepalese Studies* published by The Center for Nepal Asian Studies at Tribhuvan University, quickly became a landmark piece in the medical anthropology of Nepal⁷. The article has since continued to serve as a basis for understanding health beliefs throughout various other parts of Nepal as well.

Opportunity arose during my doctoral research to visit Saano Dumre, the site of Blustain's initial fieldwork, to conduct interviews with villagers regarding their current beliefs and practices concerning illness.⁸ I felt this research might provide a valuable opportunity for a comparative look at the changes in belief and practices about illness which have taken place in the village in the ensuing 25 years since Blustain's influential publication. Such a diachronic view might provide some insight into the culture change (or resilience) in the light of great efforts toward the development of Western-style health care in rural Nepal over the last quarter century.

There are a few notable differences between Blustain's findings and mine. This is perhaps best explained by a difference of time and focus. Although Blustain attempted to describe villagers' beliefs regarding illness, the focus of his investigation quickly became the beliefs of the traditional healers (referred

to as *baidhyas* by Blustain) who were his main informants. Although I also interviewed the same traditional healers as Blustain, the local villager's beliefs, rather than that of the traditional healers, was the focus of my research.⁹

Not all of the differences can be simply attributed to a difference in focus, however. Beliefs and practices have changed significantly during the ensuing years since Blustain conducted his field research in Saano Dumre. Perhaps it is a combination of both the focus and the time factors that best accounts for the difference of conclusions drawn between Blustain and myself. Having claimed such "great change," however, I must point out that *jhankri kam* (shaman work) is still alive and well in Saano Dumre, but has undergone substantial modification as will be illustrated later.

This paper also introduces indigenous ideas about sickness and categories of illness not formerly identified by Blustain. Again, I imagine this is perhaps best explained by difference of time and focus as well as a result of using different tools (i.e. cognitive anthropological methods) to illicit information. I have also drawn upon the ideas of other South Asian medical anthropologists in order to confirm ideas in Saano Dumre, which seem prevalent throughout other parts of South Asia as well.

This paper is intended as a brief survey of ideas emerging from the research data. For more in-depth documentation of the methods used and the findings that serve as the source of these conclusions, the reader is invited to consult the aforementioned doctoral dissertation (Beine 2000).

Methodology

Visits were made to each of the ten major hamlets of Saano Dumre and in-depth interviews were conducted among focus groups made up of members of each hamlet. These interviews commenced with an open-ended discussion about what the participants do when they don't feel well. This discussion culminated with the construction of a treatment-seeking flow chart based on the information given. Next, an elicitation (free listing) of all of the various kinds of illnesses they could think of was conducted and a pile-sorting exercise culminated in the construction of illness categories. Free listing and pile sorting are both cognitive anthropological methods designed to elicit natural categories and discovery saliency among and between members of these categories.¹⁰ Following these exercises, an in-depth questionnaire was administered to the focus groups in order to further assess the nature of these categories, beliefs about the causes of illness, ideas about susceptibility and transmission of illness, ideas about symptoms and treatment of illness and

ideas about separation of sick persons, ideas about the efficacy of Western and local medicines, and an inquiry in to how things have changed in the ensuing years. The interview schedule followed is presented in Appendix A.

From the findings of the ten focus groups, a survey questionnaire (Appendix B) was constructed and distributed to 85%¹¹ of households in the village (n = 128) in order to verify whether or not the findings of the focus groups were representative of the beliefs and practices of the wider village.¹² Of these questionnaires, 85 (67%) were returned.¹³ The questionnaires were then collected and the data was entered into a computer database and analyzed using the *Statistical Package for the Social Sciences* (Norusis 1991), a computer program designed for social research. The conclusions of this paper are drawn both from the in-depth interviews as well as from the follow-up community-wide survey. The findings are discussed below.

Categories of Illness

Thulo (Big) and Saano (Small) Rogs. Perhaps the most natural categories that emerged from the research were those of *thulo* (big or great) and *saano* (small) *rog* (sickness or disease). There was much agreement in what villagers considered as *thulo* and *saano* (or *saadharaan*¹⁴) illness. These are listed in Table 1 below. The free listing exercise also revealed this distinction between *thulo* and *saano rogs* to be quite a natural and salient category in the minds of villagers. Nearly all, when asked to make a list of all illnesses that can be found in Nepal, began the lists with those they would later also classify (in the pile sorting exercise) as *thulo rogs*. These, of course, were then followed by those they considered *saano*, or less serious.

Table 1: Thulo (major) and Saano (minor) Rogs (illnesses)

Thulo rogs	Floating rogs		Saano rogs
AIDS	paralysis	T.B.	cold/cough
cancer	blood clot	leprosy	stomachache
chicken pox	gangrene	malaria	fever
vomiting/diarrhea	typhoid	gastric	diarrhea
chronic headache	polio	tonsil	headache
chronic stomachache	worms (chronic)	ulcer	body ache
chronic joint pain	pneumonia	bloody stool	sprain
chronic cough	broken bones	asthma	wound (minor)
jaundice			joint pain
fast breathing			worms

An interesting feature that also emerged from the pile sorting exercise was that the most common "floating" (meaning some listed them as *thulo* others as *saano*) diseases were leprosy and tuberculosis. When asked about this, people attributed it to the fact that there is now treatment available for both of these once greatly feared and stigmatized diseases. One respondent said "T.B. and leprosy have become *saano rogs* because you can now get treatment for them." It seems clear, therefore, that a major characteristic of the category *thulo* is perceived efficacy of treatment.

There is, apparently, a cognitive shift underway in regards to understanding and thinking about T.B. and leprosy. As effective treatment has become available for these diseases people have begun to incorporate this new knowledge into their individual cognitive models regarding illness. And, as a result, the community's collective ideas (cultural model) regarding these diseases will slowly shift as well. As more learn of the treatment availability and as older individuals die off, these once highly stigmatized diseases will complete the shift from one cognitive category (*thulo*) to another (*saano*).

This process of cognitive shift (in regards to T.B. and leprosy) is underway but not yet complete. In answer to a later question about which diseases require the practice of *chichi durdur*¹⁵ (separation or seclusion), tuberculosis and leprosy were still the most often mentioned diseases that require separation from the community and social ostracization.

The other frequently listed "floating" illnesses were things such as headache, joint pain, stomachache, cough, and worms. It seems, however, that when considered a chronic problem these were listed as *thulo*, and when considered of short duration (non-chronic) they were considered *saano*. Hence, I have categorized them as *thulo* or *saano* according to chronicity.

Another interesting feature that emerged during the free listing exercise was a further unexpected categorization of illnesses. Nepali has many words for the semantic category of "illness" (e.g. *dukhcha*, *bisancho*, *asancho*, *bimari*, *birami*, *byathaa*, and *rog*). Various authors have attempted to define the meanings of these various terms (Allen 1976, Jackson & Jackson-Carroll 1994, Kristivik 1993, Nichter 1989, Peters 1979, Pigg 1990, Stone 1976). Initially I had tried (with very little success) to understand how the terms were being used and understood in Saano Dumre. I wanted simply to know what are all the terms for illness and how are they distinguished. This became problematic, however, and I gave up after the second interview, as it seemed that I wasn't being well understood. The widely distributed questionnaire, however, asked for a list of all of the *bimariharu*, *byathaaharu* and *rogharu*¹⁶

(three well-known terms used to cover the semantic domain of sickness in all its related nuances). Most simply free listed using the criteria above (i.e. *thulo* followed by *saano*). Several respondents, however, actually divided the space into the three categories (those mentioned above) and listed simple things as headache, fevers and cough as *bimari*, craziness (*bolaune*) and shaking (*kamne*) (both are thought to be the result of spirits) as *byathaa*, and diseases such as AIDS, cancer, T.B., leprosy, and asthma (all categorized as *thulo* as well) as kinds of *rog*. One informant described the distinction to me as follows:

If I don't feel well but am still able to walk and work then I am *birami*.¹⁷ If I am bed-ridden or have a chronic problem then it is *rog*. And if it is spiritually caused then it is *byathaa*.

Sardi (cold) and Garmi (hot) Rogs. Another category, which emerged quite naturally from the interviews, was the separation of illness into categories that require for therapy the eating of cold (*sardi*) or hot (*garmi*) foods. Blustain also originally identified this categorization as a major feature of disease classification throughout Saano Dumre. It has been identified as an important concept throughout other parts of Asia as well. The main concept underlying categorization of illness as either hot or cold is the concept of balance. It is necessary to keep one's inner balance even because an imbalance between hot and cold can cause sickness. Certain illnesses are believed to be caused by a loss of balance (mainly through mixing of "non-matching" foods). Therefore, illnesses are classified as either hot or cold, and health must be restored by bringing the body back into balance by eating hot foods for cold illnesses or cold foods for hot illnesses.

An interesting feature, which emerged during the elicitation of this category, was that there was much disagreement (within and between focus groups) about which illnesses require hot foods and which require cold foods. From the free listing exercise, cards with the names of the diseases were placed on the ground and participants were asked to make piles of which require hot and which require cold. There was usually much discussion (and disagreement) about which should go where, but Table 2 displays a small list of illnesses that were consistently categorized by all of the focus groups as either hot or cold.

Table 2: Hot and Cold Diseases

Hot foods required	Cold foods required	"In between"	Disputed
cold/cough joint pain	T.B. fast breathing jaundice bloody stool diarrhea	gastric chronic cough AIDS cancer cough	headache stomachache

Can eat anything: AIDS, cancer, paralysis, sprain or broken bones

Another interesting feature is that all groups created a third category of "it doesn't matter what foods are eaten for this illness." All groups (see Table 2) also consistently placed AIDS, cancer, paralysis and sprains or broken bones in this category. Three of the groups also constructed a fourth "in between" category saying that these illnesses required eating food that was "neither too hot nor too cold."

One of the focus groups gave an interesting answer in reply to the question as to why people disagree as to the nature of some illnesses as hot or cold. The spokesman, after much discussion, explained that they decide if an illness is hot or cold through experimentation. Therefore, some have had success (meaning they have gotten well) after eating hot foods for certain illnesses while others have gotten well after eating cold foods for the same type of illness. Thus disagreement exists over the classification of these illnesses.

Sarawa (Transmissible) Rags. Another natural cognitive category seemed to be the idea of *sarawa* (or transferable) illnesses. Thirteen different illnesses were listed as *sarawa* by the different focus groups. These are listed in Table 3. Every group mentioned T.B. and cold/cough as being transferable and several groups mentioned AIDS, leprosy, malaria, chicken pox, diarrhea and fever as also being transferable.

Table 3: *Sarawa* Illnesses

Those mentioned by all	Those mentioned by many	Others
cold T.B.	AIDS Chicken Pox leprosy malaria diarrhea	jaundice chronic cough bloody stool boils

In response to how *sarawa rogs* are transferred it seems that there is much cognitive overlap. Because people classify these diseases as members of the same category, they seem to extend the idea of mode of transmission from one member of the category to all other members as well. Therefore, the most common ways that were listed for *sarawa* illnesses to spread were through 1) eating *jutho* (the “left-over” food which is considered ritually polluted) of the ill person, 2) sleeping in the same bed, 3) wearing the sick person’s clothing, 4) and breathing the same air. It is natural, therefore, that people should stay away from (and practice *chichi durdur* toward) a person with a *sarawa* disease. The concepts of *sarawa* and *chichi durdur* are discussed at greater length in Beine (2000).

Baira (outside) and Bhitra (inside) Rogs. I also asked groups to pile cards as “inside” or “outside” diseases as this concept has been identified as a significant concept in other parts of Nepal (Kristvik 1993). Although all were able to form “inside” and “outside” piles at my request, this was not without great difficulty and discussion. One of the more educated interviewees in one of the groups even asked me what I meant by “inside” and “outside” so that he would “know how to go about piling the cards.” Thus, the concept of “inside” and “outside” illness is not as cognitively salient as those of the other categories mentioned above. Zvosec (1996) found the same to be true in the eastern part of Nepal as well.

Having said this, however, it was interesting how people ultimately did form grouping of “inside” and “outside” illnesses. If the illness was something obvious to the eye like a skin rash, scabies or leprosy then it was classified as “outside” and if it was not outwardly observable (like cancer or gastric problems) then it was classified as “inside.”

Although this categorization seemed more of a forced category than a natural cognitive category of illness for the villagers of Saano Dumre, people

did consider “inside” diseases generally being of a more serious nature than “outside” ones. A few informants also suggested that certain outside diseases (a wound for example) could “go inside” and become a serious disease such as cancer. This will be discussed at greater length in the section on transmission of illness.

Health Related Ideas

Treatment Seeking Order: a Symptom Based Approach. Interviews conducted throughout the village demonstrate a variety of treatment-seeking behaviors are practiced in Saano Dumre. These ranged from that originally described by Blustain (i.e. extensive use of traditional healers for all medical advice) to the exclusive use of western practitioners. The main feature which all of these variations had in common, however, is that the treatments sought were all determined by the symptoms exhibited. Thus, the villagers of Saano Dumre seem to exhibit *a symptom based treatment-seeking strategy*. This focus upon symptoms rather than other aspects of illness is a well-documented feature in other areas of Nepal as well (Pigg 1995; 1996).

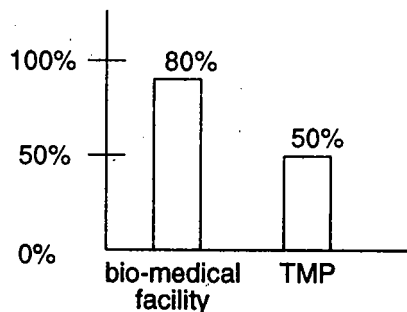


Figure 1: Where medical treatment has been sought during the past year

The follow-up survey demonstrates the use of multiple strategies in regards to treatment seeking (Figure 1). Eighty-nine percent ($n=71$) of respondents to the wider survey reported that they or a family member had been to a medical hall, health post or the hospital in the last year. Fifty-one percent ($n=71$) also report having been to a traditional medical practitioner (TMP) during that same time¹⁸. A current trend throughout Saano Dumre, in regards to treatment seeking, seems to be the combination of new “western-appearing”¹⁹ elements along with elements of the more traditional structure, to form a new sort of hybrid health belief model. Although it may appear to

some that the "traditional" model is simply being replaced by the "western" model²⁰ (and the move away from exclusive use of traditional healers and traditional methods toward the use of a more "western-appearing" system would certainly support this contention), it seems to me that something deeper is going on here. There appears to be a complex process of hybridization underlying treatment-seeking strategies rather than simply a replacement of one model for another. For instance, in one domain (home remedies), products of western development are being applied in an ingeniously indigenous fashion, while in another domain (spiritually perceived sickness) the traditional healer's practices are being modified to incorporate new beliefs in the efficacy of western medicine. And in another instance the use of traditional healers is being modified to exclusive use in one domain only ("shaking" illness). These cases will be discussed at length later in this paper.

This hybridization process is less of a dichotomous replacement of one system (traditional) with another (western), and more of a maximizing of possible treatment seeking options through the *combination* of traditional ideas along with the new "western" methods into one constantly changing hybrid system. Such a new hybrid medical system developing in Saano Dumre is based on the same pluralistic tendencies identified throughout other parts of South Asia. The characteristics of this hybrid system, in reference to treatment seeking behavior, will be discussed below.

The survey began with a question. What do you do when you don't feel well? The answers were elicited from the focus groups and developed into a general flow chart of health-seeking behavior. In each of the focus groups there was some variation expressed among members regarding treatment-seeking behavior. Most suggested that they go to traditional healers for shaking and to the doctor for other illnesses, some suggested that they go to the doctor for everything, and a few still exclusively used the traditional healers as described by Blustain (1976).²¹ The follow-up survey revealed a stronger use of the hospital than of the traditional healers, but it is clear that the traditional healers are still used by many.

The general pattern (meaning that supported by the majority of responses from the follow-up survey) of treatment seeking is displayed in Table 4 and various modifications of these patterns will be discussed below²². Although it is clear that there has been much modification of the system first described by Blustain, in two of the ten hamlets there was still consensus confirming

the use of traditional healers in a way much more consistent with Blustain’s original findings.

Table 4: Treatment-Seeking Flow Chart (General)

If <i>thulo rog</i> > hospital > if better > yes > home	
	> no > Kathmandu hospital
If <i>saano rog</i> > try home remedies > if better > yes > no further treatment	
	> no > hospital > if better > yes > home
	> no > Kathmandu hospital
If <i>kamne rog</i> > Dhami-Jankri >	1) treats > if better > yes > home
	> no > hospital
	2) refers directly to hospital

Interestingly, all focus groups initially responded to this first question in exactly the same way: “we take the sick person to the hospital.” Upon further inquiry, however, different patterns began to emerge. It seems that the respondents were, at first, anxious to tell me what they thought I would want to hear since they perceived me to be an agent of the hospital.²³ However, when this was followed up with a second question about whether they first tried to treat illness in the home, a list of various *gharko awsadi* (home medicines) emerged. These various home remedies will be discussed further in the section on home remedies below.

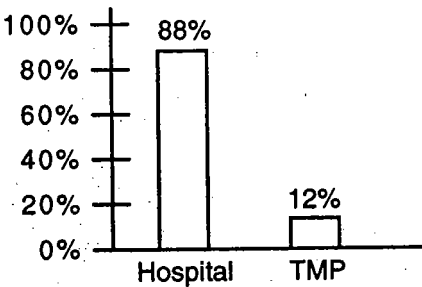


Figure 2: If home remedies fail patient is taken to...

The main pattern of treatment seeking in Saano Dumre is symptom based and goes something like this: If *saano rog* (small illness), then self-treat with various home remedies (the specific one used seemed to be much more a matter of personal choice – or as Blustain pointed out, perhaps contextually determined) for generally three to five days. If no improvement, then take the

sick person to the hospital. In the follow-up survey 88% reported that if home remedies didn't work, they would take the patient to the hospital (Figure 2) while only 12% reported that they would call the traditional healer (n=78). For *thulo rogs*, they go straight to the hospital. If hospital treatment fails then many will seek referral to a Kathmandu hospital or somewhere further abroad. One man even mentioned seeking treatment from a hospital in Bangalore, India. If *kamne rog* (shaking) then go to the traditional healer for advice as this symptom is readily identified as spiritual and this domain of illness is his specialty. This focus upon patients' symptoms in order to determine treatment strategies was consistent throughout all of the interviews.

There were some variations on the flow chart presented in Table 4 although the contrasts were minor and were still symptom based. Some classified *jwaro* (fever) and *banta* (vomiting) individually as *saano rogs*, while others said that when they are combined (*jwaro-banta*) they are considered *thulo* and the patient is taken to the hospital within two hours if it doesn't stop. Others replied that they would take a person to the hospital for fever alone and others for vomiting alone, if the fever or vomiting did not cease after two or three hours. All agreed, however that they would first try various home remedies before seeking further help in the case of other *saano rogs*.

In regards to the use of traditional healers, there was some disagreement. While a few disavowed a belief in the traditional healers altogether and just as few claim they consult these shaman for all illnesses, most reserve their use only for symptoms they define as *kamne rog* (shaking). One man said, "first we go to the *dhami-jhankris*²⁴ and if the shaking is caused by gods then we will be healed. If they cannot cure it then we go to the hospital." One respondent also had an interesting approach in the case of diarrhea. She said,

First we take the person to the hospital and they will be cured of diarrhea. But if it reoccurs, then we will take them to the *dhami-jhankri* (if terribly sick) or astrologer (if only mild), but if it doesn't stop we will take them back to the hospital.

The follow-up survey supports the claim that the traditional healers are still in use (51% report having been in the last year), but most (76%) self-report less use of the traditional healers than 20 years previous (Figure 3).

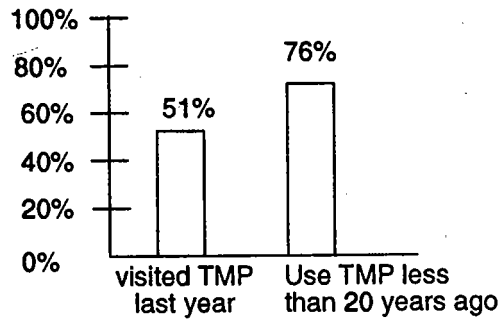


Figure 3: Self-use of TMP

In reference to which traditional healers villagers seek out, selection seems to be more a matter of access and personal choice than specialty. For instance one man stated "whoever we meet first along the trail, that one we will seek help from."

Home remedies. Although the responses of the various focus groups (in regards to health seeking behavior) were varied, they did reveal some common themes. First of all, each of the groups agreed that the use of home remedies was common before seeking advice from either the doctor or the traditional healer. This was confirmed by the wider survey in which 68% (n=71) report using home remedies before going to the hospital and 68% (n=66) tried home remedies before going to the traditional healer (Figure 4).

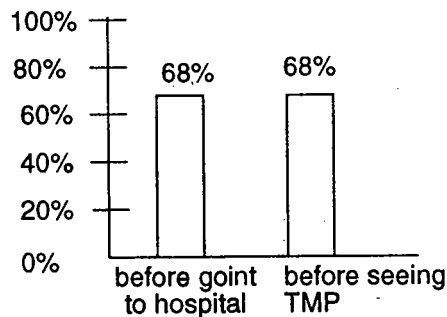


Figure 4: Use of home remedies

A few of the different types of remedies tried are illustrated in Table 5 below. Perhaps the most interesting feature is the variety of medicines used as home remedies. These varied from products of western development (such as VICKS or rifle oil), to aryuvedic medicines, to locally available products and plants. This list displays an interesting pluralistic incorporation of very different types of medicines into the wider overriding system.

Table 5: Home Remedies

western	aryuvedic	traditional
cetamol (paracetamol)	maha jarankus	besa pani (turmeric water)
vicks	chandra shekar	nun pani (salt water)
rifle tel (rifle oil)	nunilu paranisor	beri nun (red salt [from Tibet] water)
esprin (aspirin)	ananda bairva	phet-kiri (alum dissolved in water)
jiwan jel (ORS)	kana sundari	ghortabre (bitter leaf of a small plant)
	nawras	chini pani (sugar water)
	sringaput	todi tel (mustard oil)
	seto palaadhi	nun panile sekne (hot salt compress)
	jesta palaadhi	saj bark lotion for cuts (from a tree)
	agni khumar	sajiwan liquid for cuts (from a plant)
	batisa	tulsikopaat pani (marigold leaf water)

Some of the specific home remedies reportedly used were very interesting. Rifle oil, for instance was mentioned as a good cure for body ache. Actually, mustard oil massaged into the hurting body part seems to be a traditional treatment, but several people told me that if one had access to rifle oil "it is much more powerful." It is interesting that western products of development have replaced traditional items and are thought to be more "powerful." Again, this demonstrates the power that the mantra of *bikas* (development) has had on Nepal (see Pigg 1995a; 1995b). This idea of more power inherent in western medicines was also repeated later in the survey. It is also interesting that these western products of development are not necessarily being used as intended or prescribed by their makers, rather they are being applied in a truly indigenous way. The same was true for VICKS cough drops. Several people told me that these are dropped into boiled (but cooled) water and drunk like the traditional cures for cold and cough, rather than sucked in the mouth, as

we would expect. They are also sometimes combined with *besi pani* (turmeric water) and drunk as a mixed concoction.

Influences Upon Health: Causes of illness

There were several factors that were identified by the focus groups as possible causes of illness. Among these were germs, spoiled planets, bad *karma*, spirits and body weakness (Figure 5). As Blustain pointed out in his original article, beliefs about the causes of illness in Saano Dumre are contested. Although the various factors above were cited as causes of illness, the findings of the follow-up survey demonstrate that certain beliefs regarding the influence of certain agents in disease causation are more widely held than others. In this section I examine the various influences identified by the respondents of both the focus groups and the wider survey²⁵.

Kira (Germs). The most popular answer to the question "what is the major factor contributing to illness?" was *kira*²⁶ (bugs). When asked if *kira* can cause sickness the answer by all focus groups was "yes." When asked what kinds of illnesses come from *kira* the most common answer was "stomachache." The most common mode of transmission was thought to be through drinking the water in which *kira* are living.

The follow-up survey confirmed these findings. The possible answers (spirits, bad *karma*, germs, spoiled planets and weak body) were all derived from the focus group interviews and the survey results revealed that 64% (n=75) considered germs to be the biggest factor contributing to sickness (Figure 5). This certainly demonstrates that an education concerning germ theory has taken place and the belief in germs as the primary cause of sickness is now widespread throughout Saano Dumre. This may be a result of the nearby hospital, the health education given in local schools, or a combination of both.

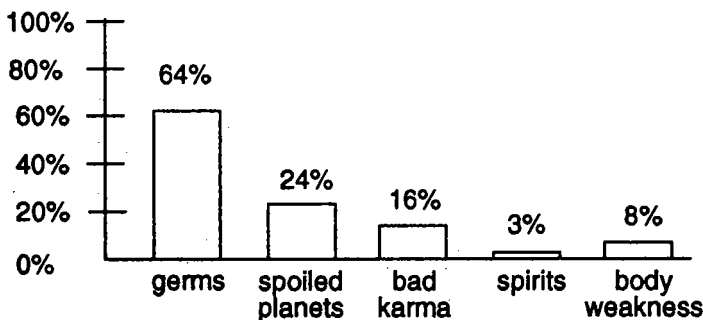


Figure 5: Biggest perceived cause of illness

Graha Bigriyo (Spoiled Planets). The second most common answer to the question "what is the biggest factor contributing to illness?" was *graha bigriyo* (spoiled planets). This answer (Figure 5) was reported by 24% of the respondents (n = 75). Although a minority opinion, it is clear that many still hold to this traditional belief that if a person's planets are spoiled, then harm, in the way of sickness, can result. When asked which illnesses can be caused by *graha bigriyo* one respondent replied, "all diseases; unless you have *graha bigriyo* you won't be entangled in any illness. If you are sick it is a sign that your planets are spoiled." Another responded, "If our planets are spoiled then we may fall on the trail, or a witch can attack us."

This belief is similar to how we might view the process of an immunodeficiency disease. When asked why an immunodepressed person fell sick, we might mention a certain virus, but we would consider the person's immunodepressed status as the main cause of their higher susceptibility, which in turn facilitated the particular illness episode. So, because of spoiled planets people can more easily succumb to diseases that are caused by *kira* (germs), they can be vulnerable to a witch and therefore become sick, or they can have terrible luck, which can lead to an injury like falling from a tree. Germs, witches and bad luck are all contributing factors, but *graha bigriyo* is perceived as the main cause, which makes people most susceptible to other factors.

Kharab Karma (Bad Deeds). There are very few people who still hold to the traditional idea that certain diseases are the result of *kharab karma* (bad *karma*). In fact, only 16% (n=69) reported bad *karma* as the main contributing factor in illness (Figure 5). Of those who still hold the belief that disease can be the result of bad *karma*, tuberculosis and leprosy were the two most commonly mentioned diseases believed to result from bad *karma*. One man said, "most diseases have a physical cause, but in the case of leprosy and T.B., our traditional belief is that these are the result of bad *karma*." Traditionally, bad *karma* is considered the result of the bad works or sins in one's previous life. One focus group referred to TB and leprosy as "sin diseases" (*papko rog*).

Another focus group offered a different interpretation of *karma*. In regards to AIDS they said, "It is not a result of the sin of past lives [but] rather the bad actions (*kharab karma*) in this life." One man added, "Bad actions are the result of a corrupt mind."

Spirits. There is still a fairly strong belief that spirits can cause illness. It seems, however, that this idea has lost some influence (given way to germ theory) over the past quarter century. Only 40% (n=70) attributed cause for sickness to spirits and only three percent (n=75) considered spirits the biggest factor in disease causation (Figure 5). This would appear to be a big change from 25 years ago.

Among those who still attribute sickness to spirits there seemed to be a good ability to list the various gods who are reported to cause illness, list which symptoms are associated with each god, and which treatments are required for the illness associated with each god. For example, *akash devi*, *nag*, *masaan*, *dev* and *pichas* (various local gods) are all malevolent spirits believed to be able to cause illness. The symptoms associated with *akash devi* are fever, loss of appetite and tiredness. Although the *dhامي-jhankri* or the *baidhya* may give diagnoses, treatment must be sought from an astrologer who will identify the exact time in which you must go to a high, clean place and offer worship through sacrifice. The god *nag*, on the other hand, will cause one to be bedridden with headache and fever. This condition must be diagnosed by the astrologer who will then prescribe *nag puja* (snake worship) at either a dry place (*paka nag*) or wet place (*jala nag*) dependent on his astrology-based assessment. The services of the *dhامي-jhankri* or *baidhya* are then employed to offer the proper *puja* (worship) like, for example, offering cow's milk to a snake. Or other gods (such as *masaan*) may require a black cock to be sacrificed on the banks of the Chepi River in order to appease him and relieve the symptoms associated with this deity. Unlike what Blustain described, the members of each focus group seemed quite knowledgeable concerning the particulars of each spirit caused illness²⁷.

Influences Upon Health: Greater susceptibility toward illness

Besides the causes (agents) of illness there were also factors identified that would make one more susceptible to illness. These are discussed below

Kamjor (Body Weakness). Although only eight percent (n=75) identified body weakness (*kamjor*) as the main cause of illness, 97% did agree that being *kamjor* increased ones susceptibility to illness (n=70) as can be seen in Figure 7. The main cause of weakness seemed to be diet related. One respondent commented that

Lack of food will make one *kamjor*. If we are *kamjor* then we will be more susceptible to sickness. If we don't have a balanced diet and lack food then we will become *kamjor* and then illness can come.

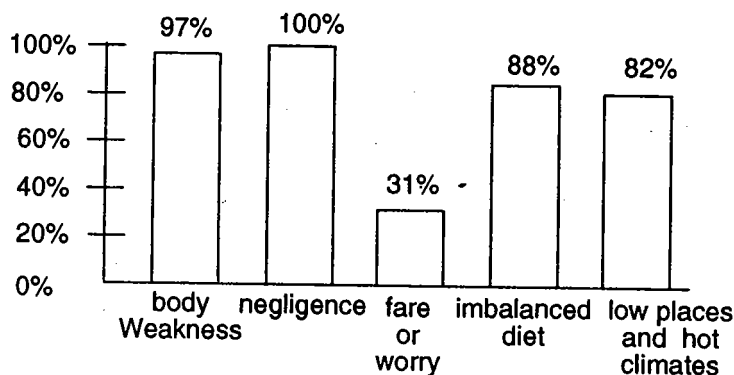


Figure 6: Factors that can contribute to greater susceptibility to illness

Another common association with weakness was "weak blood." One respondent answered that

If a person has weak blood then s/he is more susceptible to illness. For instance, if a person has weak blood then s/he can get AIDS. Also, if you have weak blood then *kira* can take advantage and make you sick.

Laaparwai (Negligence). When asked if negligence (*laaparwai*) can increase ones' susceptibility to illness, 100% of the survey respondents (n=72) marked the affirmative (Figure 6). Discussion in focus groups illuminated that negligence most often resulted in behavior that led to sickness. For some, negligence focused on the issue of diet while for others it had more to do with bad actions and morality. For instance, one man said that

Many people do stupid things like drink liquor. When you drink liquor you become negligent and forget to eat, or mix the wrong foods and you will get sick. This is how negligence leads to sickness. When one is negligent (*laaparwai*) they do stupid things

Another respondent suggested that

If one drinks too much, they may become negligent and climb a tree and fall from it creating a bad injury. Or they may build their house incorrectly causing it to fall down during the rainy season, which may hurt someone.

And another respondent, tying negligence more directly to morality, commented "AIDS is the result of negligence. A *randi* (sexually promiscuous) person will be negligent in her/his sexual practices and AIDS will result." I have written more about the popular concept of *randi/o* in my dissertation on HIV/AIDS (Beine 2000). This concept is a major element of one of the cultural models of HIV/AIDS that is emerging in Saano Dumre.

Fear or Worry. There is also a minority opinion that having fear can make one more susceptible to illness (Figure 6). Thirty-one percent of the follow-up survey respondents agreed with this contention (n=71). One focus group member commented, "there is much greater possibility of us becoming sick if we are afraid. Fear makes one very susceptible to illness." Another respondent commented that "fear or worry facilitates AIDS." She commented further that, "if persons worry about their disease, they will lose their appetite, become thin (*dublo*) and this will lead to their quick demise."

Imbalanced diet. Figure 6 demonstrates that a large majority (88%) of the surveyed sample confirmed the finding in the focus groups that imbalanced diet can contribute to susceptibility to illness (n=77). What was meant by "imbalanced diet" was 1) not having enough food, 2) improper mixing of hot and cold foods, and 3) not eating "on time."²⁸ Diet was also associated with several of the other factors influencing illness. For instance, I was told that if one were *kamjor*, then he would not be able to eat, which would make him susceptible to sickness. Also, if the climate is too hot, then one will not feel like eating and will become weak and sickness will result.

The emphasis on a balanced diet ran throughout many of the focus group interviews. This is not a surprise given the emphasis on food and eating in Nepali culture (Stone 1989). It seems clear that food (and the concept of eating) is an important cognitive schemata in Nepali culture which may also be used in meaning making in wider domains including understanding illness²⁹.

Low Places and Hot Climates. In the focus group interviews low places and hot climates were most often associated with greater susceptibility to sickness. This belief was also confirmed in the wider survey. Eighty-two percent (n=73) of survey respondents replied that living in a low place would increase one's susceptibility to illness (Figure 6). Thirteen percent (n=76) felt that all places were equal for susceptibility and only three respondents (4%) felt that one is more susceptible in high places. Likewise, 92% (n=76) felt that one is more likely to fall sick in the hot season than any other season. Two respondents (2.5%) felt that the cold season was the worst for susceptibility, two (2.5%) felt that the time between seasons was the worst and two (2.5%) said that one is susceptible to the same degree in all seasons. It seems clear from the data that low places and hot climates are believed to be the places where one would be most susceptible to illness.

A few focus group members suggested that the reason that people get sicker in the hot season and low places is food related. One respondent replied:

People loose their appetite in hot places and so, therefore, do not eat enough food. Also, the heat makes it extremely difficult to digest their food, which brings illness.

Transmission of Illness

The list of those diseases considered *sarawa* is displayed in Table 3. The follow-up survey confirmed the findings of the focus group and demonstrated the strength of the wider beliefs concerning the various ways people believe that *sarawa* illnesses can be transmitted from one person to another. The most common responses were through sharing blood (70%), by eating another's *jutho*³⁰ (66%), by breathing the same air (52%), by being sneezed on by a person with a *sarawa* illness (50%), by using the same utensils (29%), by sleeping in the same bed (28%), or by sharing clothing with someone with a *sarawa* illness (25%) (n=76) as Figure 7 displays. It seems, however, that certain diseases spread more naturally through various methods. For instance, several informants told me that only skin diseases could spread through wearing clothing of a sick person, while all *sarawa* illnesses can be spread through sharing utensils or eating the *jutho* of another. Various other *sarawa* illnesses, such as cough and cold, TB, malaria, AIDS, and chicken pox,³¹ can

be spread through all of the above modes. One woman even expressed the belief that jaundice was airborne. She commented that

There is a house above and there, one person got jaundice. And here also (because of that) one person got jaundice—so this must be because of the air flowing from there to here.

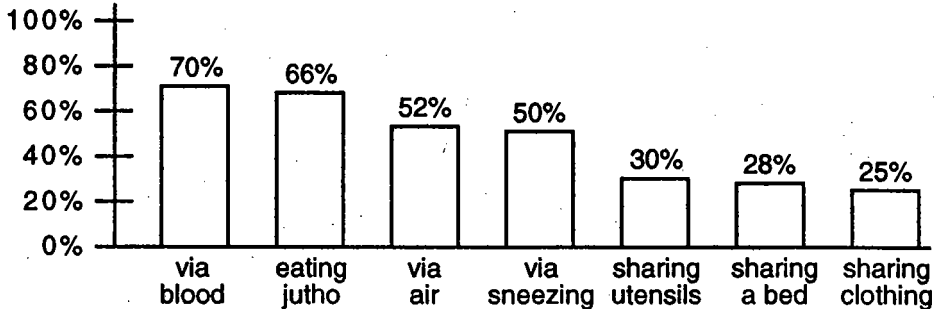


Figure 7: Beliefs about how sarawa illnesses can be transmitted

Another interesting feature of illness that emerged was the shifting (*sarnu*) nature of illness itself. For instance, it was often commented that an illness might start as a cold, then change to a fever and finally change to pneumonia or typhoid. On the surface this would appear close to our idea that one illness episode, for example, the common cold, might contain several stages, which progress to a lung infection and finally, pneumonia. It seems, however, that rather than viewing certain symptoms as stages in a certain illness, one disease can actually *sarnu* to another completely different disease. For instance, some suggested that a wound or ulcer, if not treated properly, can turn into cancer, others suggested that cancer can become AIDS and still others suggested that colds and coughs or boils can turn into AIDS. This idea that one disease can turn into another is a unique feature, which warrants further investigation.

Changes over the last quarter century

Focus groups were asked what have been the biggest changes in regards to illness since the time that Harvey Blustain visited Saano Dumre.³² They were also asked what influence the nearby hospital has had upon their treatment-seeking behavior. There were a number of interesting observations. In reply to the question one man responded:

Things have changed greatly in Saano Dumre since the time Harvey was here. At that time the hospital had just been built but there were not a sufficient numbers of doctors, so people didn't go to the hospitals. They went only to the *dhامي-jhankris*. The *dhامي-jhankris* were the only doctors. We had no choice but to go to them for our sickness. Today, everyone goes to the hospital. Today, perhaps, only five percent of the *dhامي-jhankri's* time is spent in *jankri* work. Before, perhaps 50% of their time was spent in that work. Today no more *baidhyas* work here professionally, just part time. Most of the *baidhyas* are dead now and the younger generation has little interest in learning the trade.

The contention that people are using the *dhامي-jhankri* less now than twenty-five years ago was also borne out in the wider survey. Seventy six percent of the survey respondents reported using the *dhامي-jhankri* less now than 25 years previously, thirteen percent reported going as often these days as before, and ten percent reported using the services of the *dhامي-jhankri* more these days than previously.

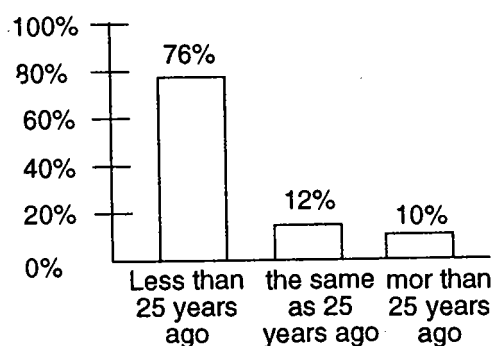


Figure 8: Self-reported use of TMPs

On the surface it would appear that the belief in the efficacy of the traditional medical practitioners (TMPs) is declining. One man told the following story.

Fifteen years ago my younger brother went to work in India. After a few years we no longer received letters from him. We wondered what had happened to him, so we sent another family member to search for him. They were unable to track him down. We waited for news but heard nothing. We hoped and

hoped, but still we heard nothing from our younger brother. After a few more years, I consulted the *dhāmi-jhankri* to see if he could tell me what had become of my brother. He told me that my brother was dead in India. I was distraught. He told me that I must conduct the final rights for my brother. He told me I must take a black goat to the banks of the Chepi River and sacrifice it there and give him the meat. We mourned for our brother, but after the appropriate time, we let him go and got back to our lives. Two years later, my brother appeared alive with a suitcase under his arm. He was home from India! From that very day I did not believe in the power of the *dhāmi-jhankris*.

Another echoed this same sentiment stating that, "only the stupid and uneducated still go to the *baidhyas*."

Despite this contention, however, it seems clear that many people still seek the services of *dhāmi-jhankris* and *baidhyas*. This fact was borne out in the survey. Just a little over half of the respondents (51%) reported visiting a *dhāmi-jhankri* or *baidhya* in the past year ($n=71$) as Figure 3 demonstrates. This also proved true in my personal experience. In one instance, while interviewing a popular Muslim *baidhya*, four Hindu women sought his services during the twenty minutes I was interviewing him. I also observed each of the other TMPs treating patients during my visits. Further, despite the contention that only the uneducated visit the TMPs, one well-educated young man admitted taking his mother first to the *dhāmi-jhankri* for her symptoms of shaking. He commented that, "we took her to the *jhankri* for her own peace of mind since we (he and his siblings) don't believe in that."

Conclusions

It seems clear that many still use traditional healers in Saano Dumre, but in a much different way than Blustain had noted. Their use has been retained in the case of symptoms of shaking (believed to be mainly spiritually caused), while for most *saano rogs* villagers attempt self-treatment, and for *thulo rogs* they consult doctors at the hospital. The villagers of Saano Dumre are combining traditional beliefs and ideas about the power of western medicine in certain domains into a complex hybrid medical treatment seeking system.

There has also been an apparent change in the behavior of the *dhami-jhankris* in terms of their acceptance of western medicines and referrals to the hospital. I was able to interview each of the *dhami-jhankris* who had previously been interviewed by Blustain and I found there to be quite an acceptance of the efficacy of western medicine. For example, as I approached the house of one shaman, now an old mah, he came out and greeted me asking if I had brought any medicine from the hospital, which would heal his deafness. In another case, the medicine-giving *baidhya* consulted me to know which medicine would be best for acid reflux. And in another case, the shaman told me that he enters a trance and consults the gods and that many times they tell him to refer the patient to the hospital. Most of the traditional healers themselves claim that they only attempt to treat *saano rogs* while *thulo rogs* are referred to the hospital. It seems that *laago* (spirit caused) diseases are usually *saano*, which is a big change from earlier years.

As an interesting aside, one Muslim *baidhya* told me that most come to him only with *saano rogs*, but now and then a really poor person with a *thulo rog* will come to him in hopes that he will be able to treat them, thus sparing them the expense of the hospital visit.³³ This is in vain, however, as he tells me that he always refers *thulo rogs* to the hospital.

The belief in the stronger nature of western medicine was also reflected in the wider survey. Seventy-nine percent of the sample reports the belief that hospital medicine is stronger than *gauko awsadi* (village medicine), nineteen percent report the belief that village medicine is stronger than hospital medicine, and one percent report that both are equally effective (n=68). Likewise, 77% report the belief that after taking hospital medicine, village medicine will no longer be effective (n=71).

As has been noted, there has been a change in villagers' use of the traditional healers of Saano Dumre. The help of TMPs is still sought, but in a much more limited domain (mainly for *kamne rog*) than before. And what will happen to this age-old trade? Currently, none of the Hindu *dhami-jhankris* are teaching their children their trade and there are also no young Muslims training to replace the aging *baidhyas*. One Hindu *dhami-jhankri* told me that he hopes to teach his sons, but that the oldest two are in Calcutta and are "drinkers" (apparently not allowed in this kind of work) and that his youngest son "also wants to depart for some foreign place." Likewise, the sons of the leading *baidhya* are working abroad and their father considers it unlikely they will return to take up *baidhya* work.

It seems clear that culture, at least in the domain of treatment seeking, has changed during the ensuing years since the publication of Blustain's study. Treatment seeking seems much more contested these days than at that time, and it seems the trend has now shifted away from the exclusive use of traditional healers. And, even the practices of the *dhami-jhankris* seem to differ significantly from those described by Blustain.

Far from replacing one medical system (traditional) with another (western), however, the majority of the villagers of Saano Dumre employ a hybrid medical system that maximizes the use of all available resources. This hybrid system seems to combine elements of the traditional and western systems in a way that they feel maximizes efficacy. Traditional home remedies are best for *saano rogs*, the treatment of the TMPs for symptoms of shaking and western medicine for *thulo rogs*, especially those perceived to be "foreign" (*bidesh*) such as HIV/AIDS.

Reasons for Change. Perhaps the biggest precipitator of change was the building of a western mission hospital 30 years ago that is within walking distance from Saano Dumre. The previously noted preference given to anything *bikas* (developed) has also contributed to the changes. During the interviews a number of respondents replied to my questioning, "Why are you asking us these questions? You are educated— you are developed."

Education has certainly contributed to a growth in the understanding of germ theory. Most families have at least one child studying in a local school, and the national curriculum now includes a health class in the eighth grade that uses a comprehensive health reader. I also was shocked to see that because of education, many parents are even giving deference to the opinions of their educated children. This is a big cultural change. In one instance I was interviewing a family about their understanding of HIV/AIDS. The oldest daughter who was studying in college in Kathmandu was home for the holidays. As I asked questions, the father would begin to answer, but then be interrupted and corrected by his daughter. After about the third question, the man said, "What do I know about these things? These are educated topics. Ask my daughter; she is educated."

Major demographic changes have also had an impact. Most families have at least one member working abroad in order to provide a subsistence living. There is a much larger awareness of an outside world than previously. In regards to treatment seeking, there is much more awareness of alternatives. One man responded:

When we get sick, we go to Amp Pipal. If we don't get well there, they will refer us to Patan hospital in Kathmandu. If we still don't get better we can go to teaching Hospital in Kathmandu. And if we cannot get good treatment there, we can go to Bangalore [in India]. There is a good hospital there as well.

The wider Nepali attitude toward the mantra of *bikas* has also had a negative impact upon the occupation of the TMPs. It is now illegal to practice medicine in Nepal without a license. So, many of the TMPs are "practicing medicine" illegally. One of the TMPs we interviewed was hesitant to speak with us at first. He first reported that he "no longer did that kind of work" (*jhankri kam*). Later, we saw him treating people and he told us that when he first saw us, he thought we were there to arrest him for doing *jhankri* work and would throw him in jail. He had a court case against him by the government for practicing without a license. Such an attitude will certainly influence the eventual demise of the tradition.

The village of Saano Dumre is no longer "untouched" by the outside world. Two of the three sons of one shaman are in Calcutta, the girl spoken of above is studying in Kathmandu, and one of the *baidhya*'s sons works in Qatar. From these places they are bringing in new ideas. And these new ideas are being accepted because they are *bikas*.

In this paper I have explored several health-related topics in the central Nepali village of Saano Dumre. These include categories of illness, treatment seeking order, influences upon health and perceived causes of illness (including factors which facilitate a greater susceptibility to illness), ideas about transmission of illness, villagers perceptions about changes in the use of various medical systems, and ideas regarding the efficacy of traditional and western medicines. I have demonstrated that although many changes have taken place over the past 25 years, the villagers of Saano Dumre are still practicing a pattern of medical pluralism characteristic of so many other parts of Nepal. The interesting feature, however, is that the form of medical pluralism being practiced in Saano Dumre, would actually be better defined as a hybrid system, combining features of both new (western) and old (traditional) into a single constantly modifying medical model.

Notes

1. My thanks and gratitude must be expressed to Tribhuvan University, Department of Sociology and Anthropology who sponsored me as a Research Scholar for the length of this research.
2. Lig Lig Mountain is famous in the history of Nepal. It is from the fort atop this mountain that the great King Prithvi Narayan Shah, who unified Nepal, is said to have come.
3. Wards are the smallest unit of political organization and are encompassed within Village Development Committees (formerly Village Panchayats), the next largest level of political organization.
4. Italicized words in the text are the Romanized version of Nepali words.
5. These statistics are from the HMG 2053 census (96-97) and were provided by the Palantar VDC Chairman.
6. This estimate was provided by the ward chairman (Ward 2) who lives in Saano Dumre.
7. This special issue on anthropology, health and development included five articles, which featured beliefs and practices regarding sickness of peoples from various parts of Nepal.
8. This research was conducted within the larger context of an examination of cultural models of illness and the schema, which underlie these cultural models, explicitly focusing on villagers' perceptions of the newly emerging phenomena of HIV/AIDS. The data collected was presented as a doctoral dissertation for the department of anthropology at Washington State University (Beine 2000).
9. Use the generic term "traditional healer" to describe the *dhami-jankris* (Hindu shaman) and the *baidhyas* (Muslim shaman) of Saano Dumre. Both practice "blowing," but only the Hindus "shake." The Muslims, although their practices are very similar to the Hindus (minus the shaking), prefer the term *baidhya*. For a further discussion of the distinctions see Blustain (1976). The beliefs and practices of the traditional healers of Saano Dumre also seem quite similar to those of other shaman in the inner-Siberian tradition, as outlined in the work of David Watters (1975), Casper Miller (1979), and Gregory Maskarinec (1995).
10. For a further explanation of the rational behind these methods, the reader is encouraged to consult Bernard (1995).

11. All percentages presented in this chapter have been rounded either up or down to the nearest whole number.
12. Questionnaires were explained to a literate member in each household. The directions asked for the literate person to read the question to the household and note the various responses on the questionnaire. Survey questionnaires were given to 128 of 150 households in Saano Dumre. Twenty-two households were either vacant (the occupants were living and working abroad) or the occupants were away during the days of our visitation.
13. According to social science research methodology (see Bernard 1995), this is actually a fairly large return rate for this type of self-administered questionnaire. The higher than expected return rate is probably due to the fact that I regularly walked the village, encouraging people to complete the survey. And, even though I had asked for the surveys to be delivered to a local shop, I collected over 30 surveys from the respondents directly who had completed the survey, but had forgotten to return them. Most were rolled up and stuck under a beam just below the thatch in the ceiling.
14. The term *saadhaaran* (simple) was often used synonymously with *saano*. Both terms connote "minor" illness or sickness.
15. "*Chi*" literally means "disgusting" and "*dur*" (in Sanskrit) means "far." *Chichi durdur* is the phrase used to describe the practice of ostracizing a person with disease from the community. It is usually practiced for those diseases categorized as being both *thulo* and *sarawa* (transmissible).
16. *-haru* is the Nepali suffix used to signify plurality.
17. *Birami* and *bimari* are alternate forms of the same word.
18. These overlapping figures imply that 40% of the population has used both systems during the past year.
19. I use the term "western-appearing" because, although it may appear "western" on the surface (e.g. many "western" medicines are used as home remedies or brought from the nearby medical shops, and a majority of villagers frequent the nearby "western" hospital), one can still clearly see "traditional" elements being modified and combined with the western methods rather than discarded altogether.
20. A desire for replacement of the "traditional" with "*bikas*" (developed) has been identified as a major theme in development discourse in Nepal (Pigg 1996). For a discussion on the importance attributed to the

concept of "*bikas*" (development) in Nepal, see the various articles by Pigg (1995)

21. Some still use the traditional healer as the first stop for medical problems and some no longer believe in their power at all. This will be discussed further in the section on "changes." The vast majority, however, use the system presented in Table 4.
22. The categories listed, such as *thulo* (big) and *saano* (small), will also be defined in the next section.
23. During my research I lived in a home owned by the Gorkha Project of the United Mission to Nepal, which also administrates the Amp Pipal Hospital. My wife, a medical doctor, also volunteered her services part-time at the hospital. It was interesting, however, that when asked where I had come from, the answer "Amp Pipal" automatically associated me with the hospital. Most certainly this is because all foreigners they have seen here have been associated with the Gorkha project. I was even assumed by most to be a medical doctor at first for the same reason.
24. This is the most common term used generically to describe both the Muslim *baidhyas* and the Hindu *jhankris*.
25. Although it is clear from these findings that the majority of respondents attribute the greatest cause of illness to germs, the question discussed among focus groups also demonstrated the understanding of the possibility of multiple causes for illness in the minds of many of the villagers of Saano Dumre. One respondent replied that "some diseases are caused by spirits (like heavy body and shaking), some from doing hard work, and some from eating an imbalanced diet."
26. Although the Nepali language distinguishes between bugs (*kira*) and germs (*kitaanu*), the people of Saano Dumre use the word *kira* to mean both bugs (when referring to insects one can see) and germs (like "bugs" in the water one cannot see).
27. Blustain (1976:87) suggested that the *baidhyas* and *dhami-jhankris* were the "repositories of local medical knowledge" while the average villager was more or less impervious to these details.
28. I was told that it is very important to eat at approximately the same time every day otherwise a stomach disorder will develop.
29. For more on the topic of cultural models of illness and underlying cognitive schemata, see Beine (2000).

30. The sacred/profane dichotomy is very important in Nepal. One can become ritually impure by touching unclean (*jutho*) things that are associated with either ritually impure people (such as a lower caste) or impure items such as the food of another person (since they may be unclean). Again, an importance upon food is noted.
31. I was told that chicken pox can only transfer to children this way not to adults.
32. Everyone I spoke with remembered "Harbyji." He left a very positive impression upon the villagers, which made it very easy for me to conduct my interviews as a fellow anthropologist.
33. This practice matches the pattern observed in Eastern Nepal (in reference to T.B.) as well (see Zvosec 1996:201).

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PROCESS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF URBANISATION IN NEPAL

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Introduction

Urbanisation refers to increasingly large number of people living in small places and basically engaged in non-agricultural activities, which depends on development of industrialization, infrastructure within cities, towns and their neighborhoods, thus urbanisation is considered as an index of modernization (Roy 1986:17; Singh 1987:49; Sharma and Maithani 1998:1). The economic system within a country generating migration opportunities to specific locations/regions is a refined input in urbanisation and urban growth as well. In ordinary language 'urbanisation' has a dual meaning. Demographers, economists, statisticians and geographers see urbanisation with specific views. and tools in several ways. Demographers usually try to see urbanisation according to urban population, accretion of population in urban areas as 'percent of total population'. Economists usually try to relate population growth, pattern of defined technology on the process of urbanisation. Statisticians try to relate production functions, growth rates of urban population (Roy 1986: 17). Geographers consider urbanisation in relation to distribution of urban spaces and see proportions and the growth of urban population at different spatial context. But for present purposes urbanisation has been defined as the proportion of total population living in designated urban areas whereas urban growth refers the net growth of population in designated urban areas (Sharma 1989:19; Singh 1987: 49; Hauser 1961: 21).

Urban population growth is fueled by the differentials in urban-rural wage rate than in the rural areas, refers the greater productivity of labour force in cities (The World Bank 1995:12). In developing countries like Nepal, urbanisation is supposed to have come out because rural migrants have been

'pushed' rather than pulled into the urban areas, as a result of great and mounting population pressure in the rural areas.

Urbanisation in Nepal in terms of the rise in the proportion of the total population living in designated urban areas (i.e., municipalities, *nagarpanchayats*, *nagarपालिकास* etc) is taking place due to the migration of people from rural to urban areas in search of employment seeking opportunities and helping to reduce the pressure of population on land in rural areas (Sharma 1992 :2,9). Urban areas function as focal points of commercial, industrial, administrative, recreational and social services required by the rural and urban population. Though urbanization has positive implications if urban areas are managed properly. But haphazard growth of urban areas results many environmental, health, and socio-economic problems and various social disorders. Increasing population in urban areas fails to supply educational and health facilities, and other services to meet the ever increasing demand.

In view of these circumstances, the need of planned and organized urbanisation has become a great concern as new urban areas have been added and proportion of urban population has been increasing. This paper aims to describe the processes and characteristics of urbanisation in Nepal

Methods and Materials

This paper focused on the spatio-temporal context of urbanisation in Nepal. The study is based on secondary sources of data. Population Census data of different period – 1952/54, 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1991 have been used. Data on different aspects for individual urban areas declared as urban after 1991 Census (between the period of 1992-97) were collected from unpublished printouts recorded in CBS and they were sorted and calculated according to the needs of study for each theme. First of all, names of VDCs which were incorporated in designated urban areas were listed and data were sorted according to the needs.

Urbanisation and Urban Growth in Nepal

A historical growth before 1951: The origin of urban settlements in Nepal is obscure. Very little is known about urban living in Nepal during the period of Kirants. The historical evidences on the existence of towns in The Kathmandu valley are found only for the Lichhavi period (100 BC to 1000 AD) (Malla 1978: 30). It has been noted that during the Lichhavi period there were many settlements in the Kathmandu Valley developed into a prominent commercial centre known as *dranga* in the 10th century. Turning of the 10th century, consolidation of *dranga* evolved into an urban settlement (Ranjitkar

1980-81: 26). By the eleventh century, three principle settlements in the Kathmandu Valley had already started to be referred to as capital towns. Outside the Kathmandu valley, there is was a scant indication of presence of (urban) settlement in the Lichhavi period, like Nuwakot, Dolkha, Banepa and Panauti (CEDA 1990: 24, Shrestha 1981: 12), located in the adjoining hill region around Kathmandu Valley.

During the Malla period (1257-1768 AD), Kathmandu was developed as an administrative and entrepot trade center between India and Tibet, which made Kathmandu a prosperous town. During the late medieval period, the whole of present Nepal was divided into a large number of Baisi and Chaubisi states which influenced urban growth pattern characterizing as capitals, fort towns and military garrisons (Shrestha 1981: 127). But most of these centers had no strong economic base because of trade and industry development hampered by fighting each other, however the products of handloom, metal and gold-silver ornaments were especially exported to Tibet. Apart from these, minting of coins and export to Tibet were the main functions of these towns.

After 1769, Kathmandu became the capital of unified Nepal as well as the seat of political, economic and social power. The productive agricultural base of Kathmandu valley and small scale industrial production of metal ware and textiles that further reinforced its population growth. (Sharma 1989:7). Outside the Kathmandu valley, many new settlements were developed largely as a consequence of increase in the number of those employed as officials, soldiers and menials in the towns to collect the revenue from peasantry and to recruit troops for the state's further expansion (Seddon 1993:146). Settlements, developed in this way were Tansen, Pokhara and Bandipur in the Western hills and Dolakha in the Eastern hills. Along with this, the spread of Newar traders and small manufacturers from Kathmandu during the later half of the nineteenth century further contributed to the physical and economic growth of a number of settlements in the hills (Blakie et al. 1980:123-4)

In the Tarai, the extension of Indian railway network along north to the border of Nepal around the turn of 19th century resulted in the growth of trading centers of the export of timber and local grain surpluses using these railheads (Blakie 1980: 125). However political, demographic and climatic reasons de-encouraged the growth of large permanent settlements in Tarai until 1920. The trade treaty of 1923 between Nepal and British-India had made positive impact on the growth of urban centers in Tarai. Most of the Tarai market centres had initiated as periodic markets; however such centres soon turned into permanent towns and the increasing importance of the southern

commercial centers significantly contributed by the increasing expansion of Indian market to the country. The industrial development that took place in Tarai during 1930s further enhanced the importance of southern towns (Shrestha 1981:131). The towns developed in Tarai before 1951 were Biratnagar, Birgunj, Nepalgunj, Hetauda and Janakpur at the railheads and break-up-bulk points, with the gradual integration of Hills into the Indian market. Another break-up-bulk points developed between Hills and Tarai were Dharan and Butwal. Further, the Rana government pursue the policy of locating headquarters of Tarai districts on the opposite side of or near the Indian railheads. Most of the headquarters of Tarai districts even today are located near the Indian railheads.

Contemporary Growth after 1951: The political change of 1951 had significant impact on the urban growth in Nepal, which ended the period of isolation. The country was opened to the out side world, transplantation of new ideas, and country's development plans were commenced. The country was divided into development regions. The development activities, most of which through foreign assistance, resulted the dramatic change in the growth of towns and urban centers in Nepal (Basyal 2000:31). The initiation of malaria eradication programme and the resettlement programmes in the late 1950s created the frame work for a large-scale migration of hill people to the Tarai. The economic importance of the Tarai region was manifested in the steady growth of physical as well as administrative infrastructure in large scales, which transformed former malarial area into a productive agricultural and commercial frontier. Besides, Hill-Tarai migration due to rich agricultural base in the Tarai, increase in the volume of trade with India, expansion of the state bureaucracy, and the creation of physical infrastructure contributed to the urban growth and urbanisation in Tarai after 1951 (Sharma 1989:14). In the Hills-three most important factors contributed in the growth of towns after 1950s are: the expansion of the bureaucracy; the overall increase in the volume of trade predominantly of imported goods for the rural people; and the construction of new roads that resulted smaller number of market centers along on-road locations (Blaikie 1980:130).

Data on urbansation in Nepal is available only since 1952/54 census. Frequent changes in definitions, changes in urban boundaries and incorporation of new ones are the complications in study of urban areas (Basyal 2000: 32). The 1952/54 census did not provide any formal definition of urban area, but it furnished some of socio-economic characteristics for few

urban areas called *Sahar*. The formal definition of urban area came out for the first time in 1961 census as "an area with a population cluster of not less than 5000 with an urban environment such as high school, college, judicial and administrative offices, bazar, communication facilities, mills factories etc," called *Sahar*. The nomenclature of the municipality (designated urban area) was changed with the advent of Panchayat System in 1961. 'The Nagar Panchayat Act of 1962' defined Town *Panchayat* (designated urban area) as being 'as area having not less than 10,000 population'. Since 1962, all municipal body (municipality) have been considered formal urban areas in Nepal, as a unit of self government not as a settlement unit.

The criteria of an urban area was again changed in 1976, in which the minimum population was fixed at 9000. During seventies, the government made two decisions—to declare all the zonal headquarters and all development centers as town *Panchayats*. The regional development strategy was adopted, and the series of north-south growth corridors and growth centers were identified to concentrate development efforts in order to achieve full economic development and encourage agglomeration of economy (Shrestha 1975:1; Sharma 1989:2), which resulted important contribution to urban growth. The 'Municipality Act of 1992' has provided more elaborate criteria ever than before to designate urban area; 'as any area in the Kingdom of Nepal with minimum population of 20,000 and having electricity, road, drinking water and telecommunication facilities shall be declared as municipality by HMG with specifying the boundary areas of the municipality.' The same act, further stratified urban areas into three categories on the basis of "inhabitants, source of revenue collected and other environments". These categories are: *Mahanagarपालिका* (Metropolitan area), *Upa-mahanagarपालिका* (Sub-metropolitan area) and *Nagarपालिका* (Municipality or Municipal area)(CBS 1995: 243).

Trend of Urbanisation

Growth of Urban Population: The pattern of population growth in different censuses increased from 8.3 million in 1952/54 census to 18.5 million in 1991. From a low base of urban population in 1952/54, the population living in urban areas increased more than nine times for the same period, whereas the rural population increased only by 2.02 times and the total population by 2.25 times. The total population growth rate is estimated to be 2.37 percent for 1990s and whereas it was 2.66 for 1980s. This total population growth has been accompanied by an ever faster urban growth also.

In Nepal, the number of urban areas in the country has been small compared to the neighbouring countries. At the time of first scientific population census in 1952/54, only 10 urban areas were recognized with an aggregate population of 238275. The urban population was proportionally small (2.89 percent of the total population) and concentrated in Kathmandu valley (82.6 percent of the urban population) (Table 1).

Table 1: Trends of Urbanisation in Nepal 1952/54-1991

Census years	Total pop.	Urban pop.	% urban	No. of urban areas	Urban growth rates	Decadal change in percentage
1952/54	8256625	238275	2.89	10	-	-
1961	9412996	336222	3.57	16	4.42	39.0
1971	11555983	461938	4.00	16	3.23	39.5
1981	15022839	956721	6.37	23	7.55	107.1
1991a	18491097	1695719	9.16	33	5.89	77.2
1991b	-do-	2287487	12.37	58	9.11	139.1

Source: Sharma (1989), CBS, Statistical Pocket Book, 1998, Table 1.1 and 1.2.

Note: 1991a = data is based on 33 municipalities, 1991b = data with including of all 25 newly designated urban areas after 1991 census.

According to 1961 census, the number of urban areas had reached to sixteen and the urban population had increased to 336,222 with an annual growth rate of 4.42 percent. This represented an urbanisation level of 3.57 percent. During the period of 1971-81, the urban population was doubled. The urban population grew from 461938 in 1971 to 956721 in 1981 growing at the rate of 7.55 percent per annum. In 1981, urban dwellers represented about 6.4 percent of the total population compared to 4.0 percent in 1971. The 1991 census listed 33 urban areas with an urban population of 1695719. After the designation of 25 new areas between 1992-97, according to 1991 census, the urban population reached upto 2287487, the level of urbanisation has risen to 12.4 percent, representing more than doubling of the urban population during 1981-91 period, accounting the growth rate of 9.1 percent per annum. Altogether there are 58 recognized urban areas (i.e. Municipalities) in the country. The distribution of urban population by urban areas is given in Table 2. In the year 2000, the urbanisation level of the country has been estimated about 15 percent with the urban population more than 3 millions (*Gorkhapatra*, Ashad 27, 2057).

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Urban population growth rates remained always higher than that of national and rural population growth rates. Particularly the last two intercensal decades (1971-81 and 1981-91), urban growth rates has been recorded very high 7.55 percent and 9.1 percent per annum-respectively (see table 2). In general, these figures shows, the annual growth of urbanisation has always been consistently higher than the rate of ruralization. It can be understand studying the percentile change of urban population in the same table.

Table 2: Total Urban Population by Urban Areas in Nepal, 1952/54-91.

Hills/Mountains	1952/54	1961	1971	1981	1991
		16237	34344	83376	429953
Amargadhi					16454
Baglung					15219
Banepa		5688			12537
Bidur					18694
Byas					20124
Dasharath Chand					18054
Dhankuta				13836	17073
Dhulikhel					9812
Dipayal					12360
Ilam			7299	9773	13197
Lekhanath					30107
Narayan					15738
Panauli					20467
Pokhara		5413	20611	46642	95286
Prithivi Narayan					20633
Putali Bazar					25870
Tansen		5136	6434	13125	13599
Waling					16712
Bhimeswor					19261
Khandbari					18756
Kathmandu Valley	196777	218092	249563	363507	661836
Lalitpur	42183	47713	59049	79875	115865
Kathmandu	106579	121019	150402	235160	421258
Madhyapur Thimi	8657	9719			31970
Kirtipur	7038	5764			31338
Bhaktapur	32320	33877	40112	48472	61405

Inner Tarai			16194	96861	289092
Bharatpur				27602	54670
Birendranagar				13859	22973
Hetaunda			16194	34792	53836
Kamalamai					24368
Ramgram					18911
Ratnanagar					25118
Tribhuban Nagar				20608	29050
Trijuga					37512
Tulsipur					22654
Tarai	41498	101893	161837	412977	906607
Bhadrapur			7499	9761	15210
Biratnagar	8060	35355	45100	93544	129388
Birgunj	10037	10769	12999	43642	69005
Butwal			12815	22583	44272
Damak					41321
Dhangadhi				27274	44753
Dharan		13998	20503	42146	66457
Gaur					20434
Gulariya					30631
Itahari					26824
Inaruwa					18547
Jaleswor					18088
Janakpur	7037	8928	14294	34840	54710
Kalaiya					18498
Kapilvastu					17126
Lahan				13775	19018
Mahendra Nagar				43834	62050
Malangwa	5551	6721			14142
Mechinagar					37108
Nepalgunj	10813	15817	23523	34015	47819
Rajbiraj		5232	7832	16444	24227
Siddhartha Nagar			17272	31119	39473
Siraha					21866
Tikapur					25639
Matihani		5073			
All Urban	238275	336222	461938	956721	2287487
Nepal	8256625	9412996	11555983	15022839	18491097

Sources: CBS, 1987 and 1995 CBS (1998), Table 1.1 and 1.2

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Variation in urban growth in Nepal during 1952/54-91, gives an interesting picture. From 39 percent during 1952/54-61, it went up to 139.1 percentage during 1981-91, but it was not uniform during the intercensal periods. The overall picture on urban growth rates and urban population between the intercensal decades is largely a reflection of the reclassification of urban areas.

Regional Levels of Urbanisation: The urban population in 1952/54 national census year was only 2.9 percent of the total population, which slightly increased to 3.6 percent in 1961. In 1971, it had reached to 4.0 percent, whereas it galloped to 6.4 percent in 1981. The 1991 census accounts that the urban population of the country was about 9.2 percent of the total population, now the figure has risen upto 12.4 percent of the total population of the country, after the designation of 25 areas as urban between the period of 1992-97 according to 1991 census data.

Data on levels of urbanisation by geographic-regions is presented in Table 3. Kathmandu Valley Region has been the most urbanised (accounting above 40 percent in all census,) since 1952/54 census with increasing ratio. According to 1991 census, about 60 percent of the region's population are of urban residents in Kathmandu valley region, followed by inner Tarai region (about 17 percent). Both of them have urbanisation level above national average (12.4 percent), on the other hand Tarai region and Hills/Mountain region has below the national level accounting 11 percent and 5.5 percent respectively. Inner Tarai Region (ITR) has recorded the significant changes in the level of urbanisation, where as it had no urban population until 1961.

**Table 3: Regional Levels of Urbanisation in Nepal:
1952/54-91**

Region	Census years					
	1952/54	1961	1971	1981	1991a	1991b
Hills/Mountain	0	0.29	0.57	1.2	2.47	5.53
Kathmandu valley	47.89	47.41	40.32	47.43	54.14	59.87
Inner Tarai	0	0	1.84	7.57	9.47	17.06
Tarai	1.72	3.51	4.05	6.85	9.37	11.12
Nepal	2.89	3.57	4.0	6.37	9.16	12.37

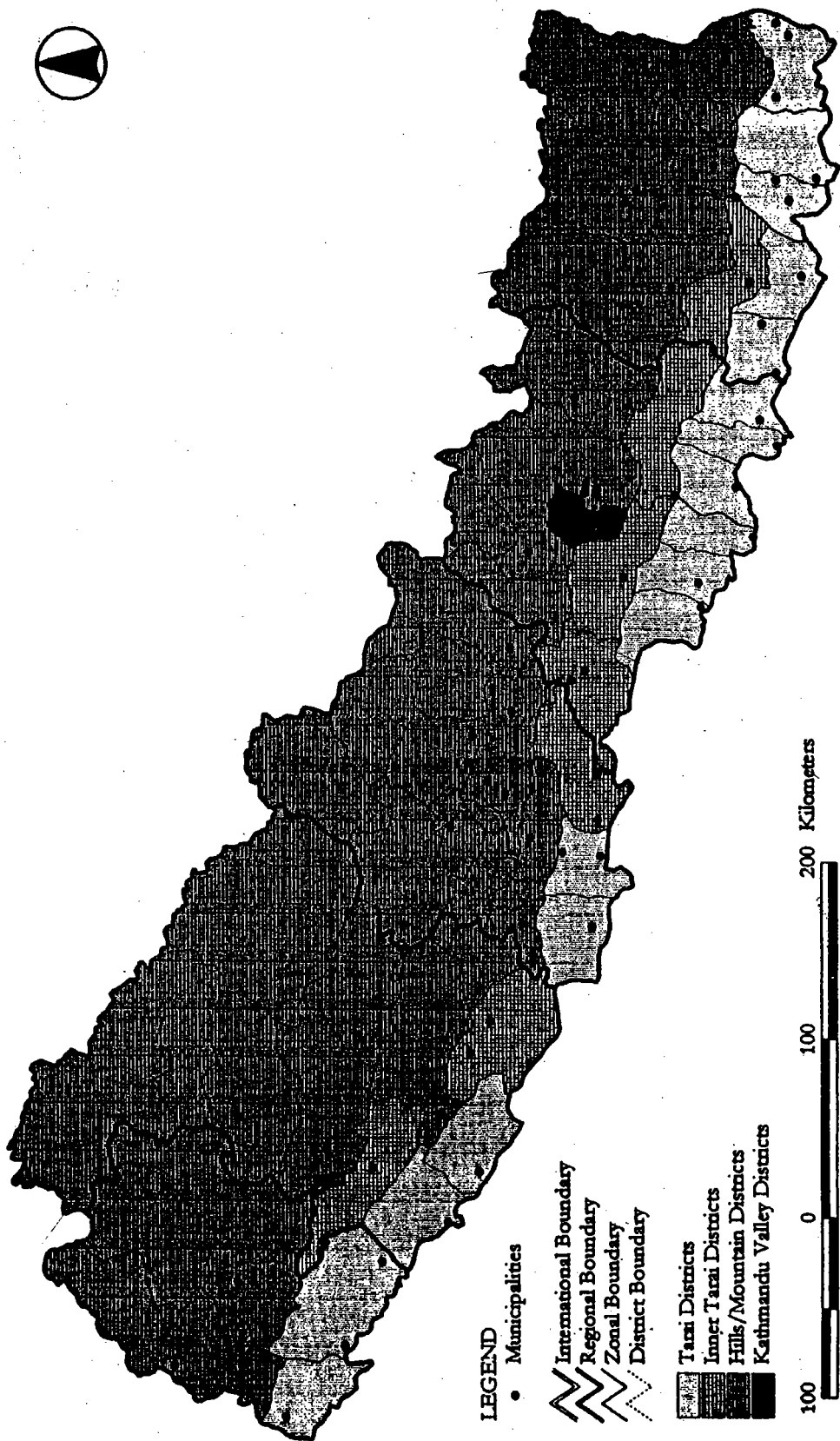
Source: Calculated according to Table 2, CBS (1998), and Sharma (1989).

If the analysis is made at sub-regional (district) levels, the level of urbanisation is recorded ranging between 67 percent (in Kathmandu) to 2.8 percent (Sarlahi district) in 1991. Out of 75 districts in the country, 43 districts have urban population and rest of 32 districts do not have any urban population/ areas in 1991, compared to 22 in 1981 and only 15 in 1971 having urban population.

Slowing down of urbanisation level has been recorded in Banke, Kanchanpur (in Tarai region), Bhaktapur (in Kathmandu valley) and Palpa (in Hills) over the decades. Different reasons are involved in such slowing down of urbanisation in these urban areas. Most of the rural originated migrants destination would be the rural Tarai in the case of Banke and Kanchanpur. Declining importance of Tansen due to development of feeder as well as rural roads would be the major cause for Palpa and close proximity to Kathmandu Metropolitan city (KMC) would be the cause for Bhaktapur.

In terms of number of urban areas, out of 58 Nagarpalikas (recognized urban areas), 24 are concentrated in Tarai followed by 10 in Hills/Mountain, 9 in inner Tarai and the rest of 5 are in the Kathmandu Valley now (Map 1 and Map 2). The period after 1981 census, the Hills/Mountain Region (HMR) marked a dramatic change in the number of urban areas. If Mountain Region (MR) is taken in consideration as a separate region, there was no any urban area/population until 1991. In 1997, Khandbari and Bhimeswor were recognised as urban—accounting least urbanised region. There were no significant changes in the number of urban areas in Kathmandu valley.

Map 1: Distribution of Urban Areas by Geographic Regions in 1997



Urban Systems

Urban system has been considered as one of the major approaches in the study of urbanisation. It is studied mainly within the conceptual framework of Central Places Theory supposing that hamlets, villages, towns and cities are mutually dependent on each other and they co-exists as a unified system of settlement in any region, state or nation. In other words urban system is taken as a set of interdependent cities in a region or nation is a reflection of the nature of the distribution of settlements and their characteristics (Sharma 1989:105; Ramachandran 1999:190). The urban system of the country is analyzed here on the basis of population size — as a crude measure of centrality, rather than other characteristics like: urban spacing, functional range of the city etc.

Size Class of Urban Areas in Nepal: The change in number and size class of towns is one of the indicator of process of urbanisation. In 1952/54 census, only 10 urban areas in the country were recognized of which one was of size class I (cities with population over 100,000), 2 of class III (medium towns population 20,000-49,999) and 7 of class IV (small towns less than 20,000 population). The urban areas have been growing both in number and size since 1952/54 (Table 4). In 1991 census, 33 areas were identified as urban of which 3 were of class I, 8 of class II and III each and 14 in class IV compared to 1 in size class I, 2 in size class II, 13 in size class III and 7 in size class IV and the total number of 23 in 1981 census. In the history of past five intercensal periods, the most remarkable changes in size class were recorded during the period of 1981-91. During this period two cities of size class II (Biratnagar and Lalitpur) were shifted in to size class I category and six urban areas of size class III in to size class II category. After the 1991 census, 25 new localities were designated as urban, of these 17 areas were entered in to size class III category directly and eight into size class IV. In this way, the number of size class III urban areas reached to 25 and 22 in size class IV according to 1991 census (Map 3).

Map 3: Size Class Distribution of Urban Areas in Nepal in 1997

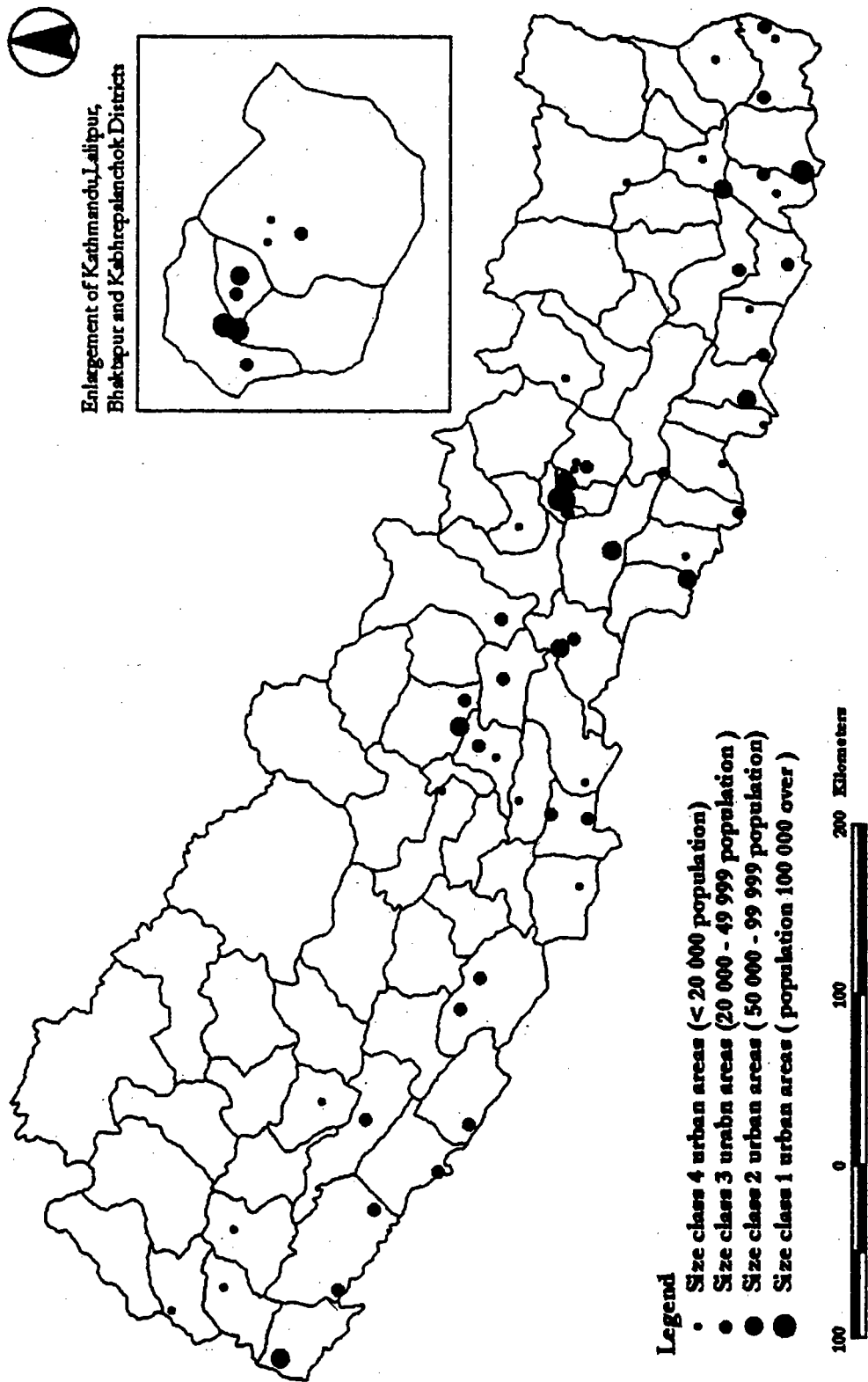


Table 4: Percentage of Urban Population in Different Size Classes of Urban Areas in Nepal, 1952/54-91.

Census years	Percentage distribution of population by size classes				
	I	II	III	IV	Nepal
1952/54	44.7 (1)		31.1 (2)	24.0 (7)	100.0 (10)
1961	36.0 (1)		34.8 (3)	29.2 (12)	100.0 (16)
1971	32.6 (1)	12.8 (1)	32.4 (5)	22.2 (9)	100.0 (16)
1981	24.6 (1)	18.1 (2)	47.8 (13)	9.5 (7)	100.0 (23)
1991a	39.3(3)	30.5 (8)	17.3 (8)	12.8 (14)	100.0 (33)
1991b	29.1 (3)	22.6 (8)	32.6 (25)	15.6 (22)	100.0 (58)

Source: Calculated according to Table 2.

Note: Number in parenthesis refers to the numbers of urban areas

The percentage share of urban population among different size classes reveals that the proportion is neither uniformly distributed among different size classes nor increasing uniformly over the decades. The ratio have been recorded ups and downs. Generally speaking the proportion of urban population in medium and large towns have increased over the decades but the proportion in cities (100,000 and over) and small towns has been recorded in decreasing order. The phenomena of large towns (size class II) was remarkable by its absence upto 1961 census. According to 1991 census, about 16 percent of urban population were in small towns, 32.6 percent of the population of the urban population on 25 medium towns, 22.6 percent in 8 large towns and about 29 percent in Cities compared to 9.5 percent, 47.8 percent, 18.1 percent and 24.6 percent in 1981 census respectively. These figures show the over all picture of population scenario among different size classes, the dominance of large and medium towns have always remarkable.

At regional level, small towns are generally characterizes in Hills, while medium towns dominate Tarai and Inner Tarai region. Of three cities in the country one (Biratnagar) in Tarai and rest of two (Kathmandu and Lalitpur) are situated in Kathmandu valley. However Pokhara (in Hills) and Birgunj (in Tarai) have been declared as sub-metropolitan cities (having more than 100,000 population) recently; and Dharan is another city emerging as a city (size class I) situated in Inner Tarai Region (Basyal 2000).

Since 1952/54 census, the size of population living in each of the size classes has been increasing decade by decade. However the rates of growth per

annum varies one to another intercensal decades as well as size classes. A phenomenal decline in the growth rates of small towns is recorded up to 1981 census, but same towns recorded high growth rates for the period 1981-91. In the case of medium towns, it has grown at the rate of 5.01 per cent per annum during 1981-91 compared to 11.31 percent during 1971-81. Table 5 shows large towns recorded very high growth rates (about 11 percent) during seventies and eighties. About the same rates has been recorded in cities (of size class I) for the period of 1981-91 compared to 4.5 percent per annum during 1971-81. Generally cities and large towns have registered increased growth rates per annum over the decades, where as medium and small towns have not uniform growth rates. The major reason behind it would be the entrance of newly designated areas entering into these categories.

**Table 5: Growth Rates of Urban Population by Size Classes
1952/54-1991**

Size classes/decades	1952/54-61	1961-71	1971-81	1981-91a	1981-91b
I. 100,000 and over	1.83	2.2	4.57	10.97	10.97
II. 50,000-99,999	-	-	11.38	11.55	11.55
III. 20,000-49,999	5.8	2.51	11.31	-4.33	5.01
IV. Less than 20,000	2.0	0.44	1.24	9.17	14.7
Urban	4.4	3.23	7.55	5.89	9.1

Source : Calculated according to Table 2.

Rank Size Distribution of Urban Areas: The rank size indicates relative importance or the hierarchy of urban areas. For the present study only population parameter is included rather than the number of functions available in the city, transportation facilities and the spacing in relation to other settlements.

Changing patterns of the rank- hierarchy of urban areas for Nepal is shown in Table 6, in which urban areas have been ranked in decreasing order according to population size for the 1952/54 to 1991 census. Kathmandu, Lalitpur and Biratnagar have remained stable since 1961 to 1991. The movement is evident in the middle and lower rung of the rank hierarchy since 1961, only Pokhara and Biratnagar have consistently risen their rank, whereas Kathmandu has been its maintained its supremacy in the rank hierarchy.

Table 6: Rank order of urban areas in Nepal 1952/54-1991

Rank no	1952/54	1961	1971	1981	1991
1	Kathmandu	Kathmandu	Kathmandu	Kathmandu	Kathmandu
2	Lalitpur	Lalitpur	Lalitpur	Birat Nagar	Birat Nagar
3	Bhaktapur	Birat Nagar	Birat Nagar	Lalitpur	Lalitpur
4	Nepalgunj	Bhaktapur	Bhaktapur	Bhaktapur	Pokhara
5	Birgunj	Nepalgunj	Nepalgunj	Pokhara	Birgunj
6	Madhyapur Thimi	Dharan	Pokhara	Mahendra Nagar	Dharan
7	Birat Nagar	Birgunj	Dharan	Birgunj	Mahendra Nagar
8	Kirtipur	Madhyapur Thimi	Siddhartha Nagar	Dhangadhi	Bhaktapur
9	Janakpur	Janakpur	Hetauda	Jaleswor	Janakpur
10	Malangawa	Malangawa	Janakpur	Hetauda	Bharatpur
11		Kirtipur	Birgunj	Nepalgunj	Hetauda
12		Banepa	Butwal	Siddhartha Nagar	Nepalgunj
13		Pokhara	Rajbiraj	Bharatpur	Dhangadhi
14		Rajbiraj	Bhadrapur	Damak	Butwal
15		Tansen	Ilam	Butwal	Damak
16		Matihani	Tansen	Tribhuvan Nagar	Siddhartha Nagar
17				Rajbiraj	Trijuga
18				Birendra Nagar	Mechinagar
19				Dhankuta	Madhyapur Thimi
20				Lahan	Kirtipur
21				Tansen	Gulariya
22				Ilam	Lekhath
23				Bhadrapur	Tribhuvan Nagar
24					Itahari
25					Putali Bazar
26					Tikapur
27					Ratnanagar
28					Kamalamai
29					Rajbiraj
30					Birendra Nagar
31					Tulsipur
32					Siraha
33					Prithvi Narayan
34					Panauti
35					Gaur
36					Byas

37					Bhimeswor
38					Lahan
39					Ramgram
40					Khandbari
41					Bidur
42					Inaruwa
43					Kalaiya
44					Jaleswor
45					Dasharath
					Chand
46					Kapilvastu
47					Dhankuta
48					Walling
49					Amargadhi
50					Narayan
51					Baglung
52					Bhadrapur
53					Malangawa
54					Tansen
55					Ilam
56					Banepa
57					Dipayal
58					Dhaulikhel

Birgunj and Dharan are the other very fast upgrading cities in the rank hierarchy. Bhaktapur, the third largest city in the census 1952/54, has been losing its rank drastically decade by decade and went down to the 8th position in 1991 census, whereas it was in 4th position from 1961 to 1981. Most of the Tarai towns (i.e., Birgunj, Dharan, Janakpur, Hetauda, Nepalgunj, Bharatpur, Butwal, Dhangadhi etc.) are upgrading their ranks gradually, whereas, most of the Hill towns (i.e., Dhankuta, Tansen, Ilam, Dhulikhel etc.) losing their ranks on the other. Areas designated as urban between 1992-97, has been making the major distortion on the rank order.

The nature of Tarai towns is more distinct than hill towns. Tarai towns usually characterize homogenous landscape, uniform distribution of population, rich economic base, fertile agricultural land, radial pattern of transport network as well as the interaction with the Indian border market centres. These would be the major contributing factors for the faster growing of these towns attracting more people from within or outside the region or even from across the border. On the other hand, hill towns have been facing the problems of accessibility. If road facilities are available they are linear in

pattern, poor resource base in the hinterland area and limited employment opportunities outside the agriculture. Due to these limitations most of urban areas in hills are constantly losing their rank except centrally located urban areas in the total urban system.

The rank size rule, as said before, is a statistical regularity observed by Zipf many years ago. According to him, if the cities of a country or region are arranged in order of size in general, the second largest city will have about half the population of the largest city, the third city about one third population of the largest city, k and so on as mathematically $P_r = P_1/P_k$. If the population of cities is plotted in log-log graph paper on one axis and their rank on the other axis, the distribution will tend to be a straight line at an angle of -45° or a slope of -1.00 , further if the cities confirm the rule, then the ratio of actual to optimum population (computed as $P_k/(P_1/k) \times 100$, where k is the rank, P is the population and P_1 is the population of the first ranked city) will be approximately 100, that one would expect the distribution (of urban areas) is normal.

The series of present actual to optimum rank-size relations among urban areas (see Table 7) in Nepalese urban system does not display the character as revealed by Zipf theory. The large and medium towns have higher differences than that of cities and small towns (Figure 1). The index for almost all urban areas were recorded below 100 upto 1971 census year. Unprecedented increase was recorded those urban areas ranked that there is wide differences between actual to optimum population and also suggests the migration from rural to urban areas and more specifically towards larger urban areas is very high in the country.

Figure 1: Rank-size distribution of urban areas in Nepal, 1961-97

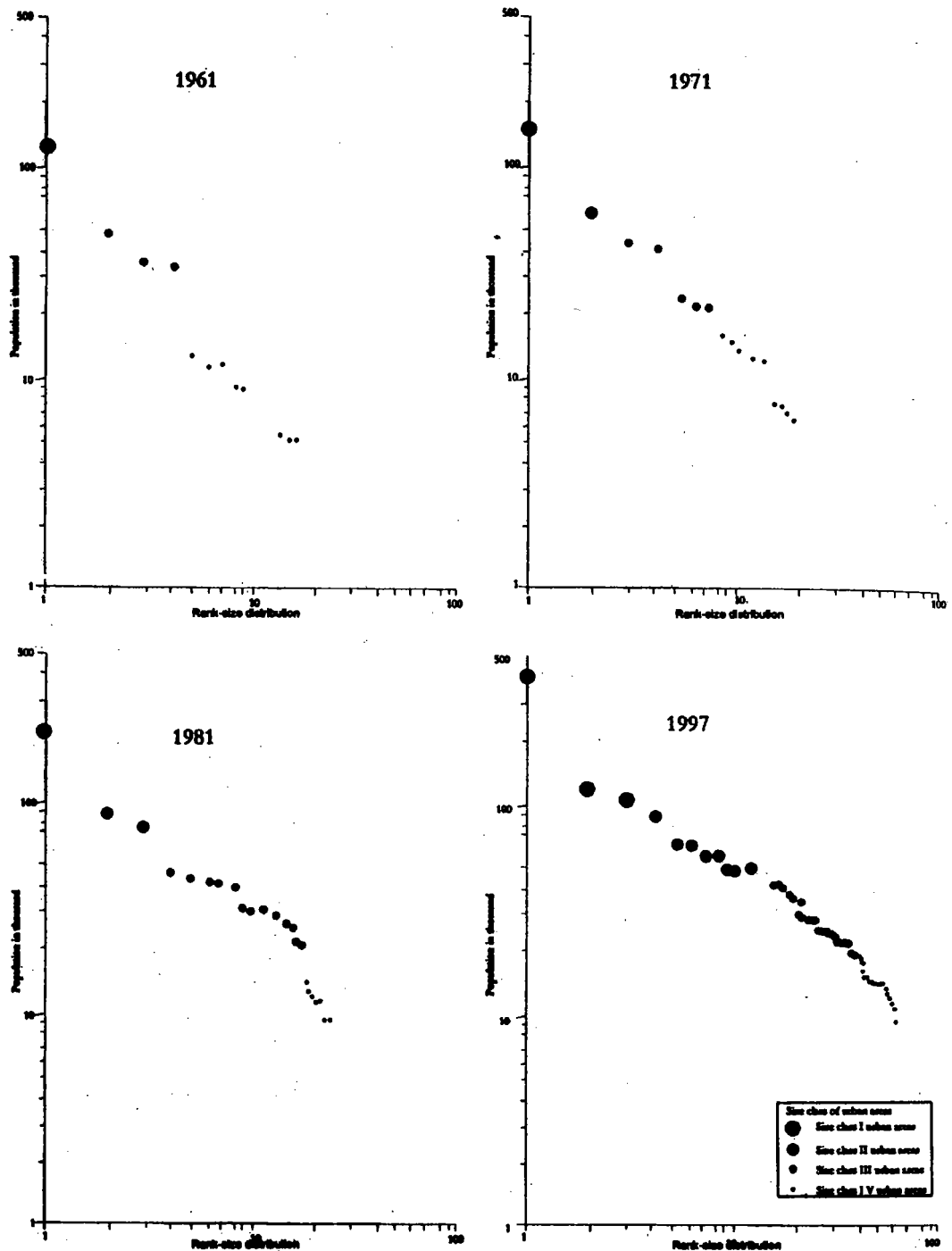


Table 7: Ratio of Actual to Expected Population of Urban Areas of Nepal 1952/54-1991.

Rank no.	1952/54	1961	1971	1981	1991
1	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
2	79.16	78.85	78.52	79.56	61.43
3	90.97	87.64	89.96	101.90	82.51
4	40.58	111.97	106.68	82.45	90.48
5	47.09	65.35	78.20	99.17	81.90
6	48.74	69.40	82.22	111.84	94.66
7	52.94	62.29	95.42	129.91	103.11
8	52.83	64.25	91.87	143.38	116.61
9	59.42	66.40	96.90	133.34	116.89
10	52.08	55.54	95.04	147.95	129.78
11		52.39	95.07	159.11	140.58
12		56.40	102.25	158.80	136.22
13		58.15	67.70	152.59	138.11
14		60.53	69.80	162.37	147.13
15		63.66	72.79	144.05	147.13
16		67.07	68.45	140.21	149.92
17				118.88	151.38
18				106.08	158.56
19				111.79	144.19
20				117.15	148.78
21				117.21	152.70
22				91.43	157.23
23				95.47	158.61
24					152.82
25					153.53
26					158.24
27					160.99
28					161.97
29					166.78
30					163.60
31					166.71
32					166.10
33					161.63
34					165.19
35					169.77
36					171.98
37					169.17
38					171.55
39					175.08

40					178.10
41					181.94
42					184.92
43					188.82
44					188.93
45					192.86
46					187.01
47					190.48
48					190.42
49					191.39
50					186.80
51					184.25
52					187.75
53					177.93
54					174.32
55					172.30
56					166.66
57					167.24
58					135.09

Primacy Patterns: Urban primacy is a measure of the dominance of the biggest city in the total urban system (situation) of a country or a region. The issue is concerned with the concept of primate city as described ... 'a country's leading city is always disproportionately large and exceptionally expressive of national capacity and feeling. The city is pre-eminent not merely in (population) size but also a 'national influence' (NIUA 1988: 168). In a number of developing countries (like Nepal), the major city- usually the national capital—has far out paced other cities in its growth rate, (Goldstein 1985:36) due to, the leading city tend to attract the best of human talent and skills as providing the greatest opportunity for employment. It results the gap between the primate city and the second largest city tends to widen through time (Ramachandran 1999:192).

The comparison between census years based on two-cities and four-cities index of primacy shows their values for the country have relatively stable upto 1981. In eighties the level of primacy significantly increased on both two-city and four-city. Two-city index increased to 3.25 in 1991 compared to 2.51 in 1981. On the other hand four-city index reached 1.34 from 1.05 for the same period (Table 8). Primacy patterns at regional level, Kathmandu valley region recorded highest index followed by Hill region in 1997 according to 1991 census data; recorded 3.63 and 3.16 respectively. The moderate level of index is recorded in Tarai and inner Tarai (Table 9). The

primacy index is increasing decade by decade in Hill and Kathmandu valley region, where as in Tarai and Inner Tarai region the index has been sharply declining.

Table 8: Primacy Pattern in Nepal, 1952/54-91.

Index/Census years	1952/54	1961	1971	1981	1991
Two city index	2.53	2.54	2.54	2.51	3.25
Four city index	1.25	1.03	1.04	1.05	1.34

Source: Calculated according to Table 2.

The increasing ratio of primacy index shows the higher ratio of rural to urban migration towards the largest city than to the smaller towns as well as the higher primacy ratio demonstrate proximate city is becoming more important in terms of population size and probably in the performance of key social, economic and political functions within a country. At regional level, the higher ratio of primacy index in Hills and Kathmandu valley region indicates that in these regions rural-urban migration is more oriented towards higher order cities.

Table 9: Urban Primacy by Regions in Nepal 1961-91.

Region/index	Two city index					Percentages share of population largest urban area in the total urban population				
						1961	1971	1981	1991a	1991b
Hills/Mountain	1.05	2.82	3.37	5.10	3.16	35.03	65.75	55.94	49.48	22.16
Kathmandu	2.53	2.54	2.94	3.63	3.63	55.48	60.26	64.69	70.38	63.64
Innter Tarai	-	-	1.26	1.01	1.01	-	100.00	35.91	34.06	18.91
Tarai	2.23	1.91	2.13	1.87	1.87	34.69	27.86	22.68	17.39	14.27
Nepal	2.54	2.54	2.51	3.25	3.25	36.0	32.6	24.6	24.87	18.41

Source: Calculated according to Table 2.

Besides two-city and four-city index, there is another method to measure the primacy index based on percentage share of the largest urban area to the total population. In 1961, the index was 36 percent whereas it went down to 18.4 percent in 1991. The Kathmandu Metropolitan City (KMC) has remained its super position since then. This method of index took the whole urban system into account in a nation or a region. There is one thing to note

that the rise and fall of the index is always distorted by the rise and fall of the number of urban areas in the country or region.

The result among these three measures shows different situation of primacy. Although the result based on two-city index and four-city index has represented the similar situation, but the index based on the percentage share of total urban population in the largest city has demonstrated relatively stronger basis of urbanisation.

Demographic and Socio-economic Characteristics of Urban Population

The characteristics of population living in urban areas differ from those of residents in other localities (i.e, rural areas). With the different rates in the growth and re-distribution of population between rural and urban areas the changes in its socio-economic and demographic characteristics are evident over the period of time. Urban and rural areas vary from one to another. In this respect, it is essential to study such differences. Some of the demographic and socio-economic characteristics, such as age differentials, dependency ratio, sex ratio, literacy ratio and labour force are briefly discussed below.

Age Differentials: Age structure is one of the most important demographic aspects. In the past it was taken as a means of analysing the level of fertility, mortality and the patterns of migration. The urban-rural composition of age-structure of the population tends to make urban population distinctly different from that of their rural population. Examination of age-composition between urban and rural population reveals relatively higher proportion of population in early age groups (below 15 years) in rural areas than in urban areas (Table 9). On the other hand, the same table shows the higher proportion of population in working age groups in urban areas. It is due to the combined effect of differences in fertility and mortality levels between urban and rural areas, as well as the result of selective rural to urban migration of working age groups of population.

Table: 10 Percentage of Population in Different Age Groups of Urban and Rural Population in Nepal, 1961-91.

Years	1961		1971		1981		1991a		1991b	
Age groups	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
0-4	13.0	14.3	12.7	14.2	14.2	15.5	12.0	14.9	12.5	14.9
5-9	12.0	14.5	13.4	15.2	13.3	14.7	13.0	15.4	13.4	15.4
10-14	10.6	11.3	11.2	11.2	11.6	11.4	12.3	12.6	12.6	12.6
15-19	9.7	8.6	10.5	9.0	10.2	8.8	11.2	9.5	13.0	9.5
20-24	10.5	8.3	10.3	8.3	10.3	8.8	11.0	8.3	10.5	8.3
24-29	9.1	8.4	8.8	8.0	8.4	7.7	9.1	7.3	8.7	7.3
30-34	7.7	7.5	7.2	7.0	6.8	6.5	7.1	6.1	6.9	6.1
35-39	6.2	6.2	6.3	6.5	6.0	5.9	6.0	5.5	5.9	5.5
40-44	5.4	5.0	5.2	5.3	4.8	5.0	4.5	4.6	4.5	4.6
45-49	4.2	2.1	3.7	4.0	3.9	4.1	3.8	4.0	3.8	4.0
50-54	3.9	3.8	3.5	3.5	3.2	3.6	2.8	3.3	2.9	3.3
55-59	2.4	2.4	2.1	2.2	2.0	2.3	2.2	2.6	2.3	2.6
60-64	2.4	2.5	2.3	2.6	2.1	2.5	1.9	2.4	2.0	2.4
65+	2.8	2.7	2.9	3.1	3.1	3.3	3.1	3.5	3.2	3.5
Total	100.	100.0	100.	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
	0		0						0	

Source: Sharma (1989); CBS (1995), CBS Population Census 1991, Urban Tables, Table 5 and Table 2 of VDC wise population from unpublished printouts.

The data shows the total rural population more than 40 percent comprises less than 15 years of age group in each intercensal periods which was 40 percent in 1961, 40.6 percent in 1971, 41.6 percent in 1981, and it reached 43.0 percent in 1991 census. On the other side the percent distribution in urban areas for the same age group is 35.6, 37.3, 39.1 and 38.5 percent respectively. These figures show the increasing ratio of population in this age group for both urban and rural areas interestingly, where as the proportion is less in urban areas than in rural areas.

Dependency Ratio: The difference in urban and rural age structure can also be visualized in dependency ratio. It is the ratio of population below 15 years of age and above 60 years divided by the population of age group 15-59 years. The dependency ratio—dependents per 100 population of active ages (15-59 years), for urban and rural population in the country (Table 11), shows

the total labour force bears a greater burden in rural areas than in urban areas, although there are no significant variations between these two sectors. This pattern is particularly marked with respect to younger and total dependency than older age dependency.

Table 11: Dependency Ratio in Nepal 1961-91.

Year	1961		1971		1981		1991b	
Dependency	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Young	60.0	73.6	64.7	75.5	70.1	78.7	68.2	84.0
Old	8.8	9.6	8.9	10.5	9.2	10.9	9.2	11.5
Total	68.8	83.2	73.6	86.0	79.3	89.6	77.4	95.5

Source: Calculated according to Table 10.

The young dependency ratio in urban areas has recorded increasing trend upto 1981 census. After 1981 census, this ratio has slightly declined to 77 in 1991 census, from 79 in 1981. The case of urban old dependency has not changed significantly or it took very slow pace. On the other hand the dependency ratio in rural areas in all age categories is still rising. The over all situation of dependency ratio of the country in rural urban basis suggests that an influx of rural people to the urban areas particularly of working age groups.

Most of the hill urban areas are dominated by higher dependency ratio mostly above 90, whereas the Tarai urban areas are dominated by lower dependency below 90. This means hilly urban areas are facing the problem of higher dependency compared to Tarai urban areas at regional level according to 1991 census. The difference in dependency among urban areas is very high in the country ranging between 109 (in Panauti) to 57 (in Lalitpur) dependents per hundred working age population. All urban areas which have available comparable data, shows the declining ratio of dependency through the intercensal decades (for details see Basyal 2000:77).

Sex Ratios: The sex ratio is the ratio of males per hundred females, can be used to compare the sex compositions of the population in rural-urban context, which can be taken as a distinct characteristics of urban population of the country. According to the census data, the two residence categories i.e., urban and rural areas do not display the similar sex ratio. Urban sex ratio is

always higher than the rural sex ratio. Urban sex ratio is always above 100, whereas the same ratio is below this level in rural areas.

Comparing with previous censuses, the urban sex ratio has been recorded declining ratio, from 112.9 (in 1961) to 106.0 (in 1991), whereas the sex ratio of rural population is closer to 100, since 1961. The observation of the sex ratio of the country on a rural/urban basis that urban population is male dominated in each intercensal decade (Table 12).

Table 12: Rural/Urban Sex Ratio in Nepal, 1961-91.

Sector/census years:	1961	1971	1981	1991a	1991b
Urban	112.9	116.6	115.2	108.4	106.0
Rural	96.7	100.8	104.4	98.5	98.6
Nepal		108.1	105.0	99.5	99.5

Source: Same as Table 10.

Age-specific sex ratio of urban population in all age groups of 0-64 years is higher than in rural areas. Only in older age groups (over 65 years) sex ratio is lower in urban areas than in rural areas. More significant differences between urban and rural age-specific sex ratio is found in between 15-44 age groups in each decade. The rural population is losing their more population mostly of working age groups.

According to 1991 census data, relatively higher sex ratio is found in Tarai urban areas, lower sex ratio is accounted mostly of hilly urban areas. Mainly those urban areas that designated after 1991 census has displayed higher sex ratio. Among urban areas the sex ratio ranges between 115.8 (in Taulihawa) to 87.9 (in Putali Bazar) males per 100 females in 1991.

Literacy Ratio: Describing the literacy status of population by urban and rural residence with sex-differential, sharp differences exist between urban and rural areas as well as male and female in each census years since 1952/54. According to 1991 census, literacy ratio of the country was about 39 percent (Table 13) comparing only 8.9 percent in 1961, 14.3 percent in 1971 and 23.5 percent in 1981. The rural urban variations in literacy is still very high in Nepal. There are 62.5 percent of total urban population are literate, whereas this ratio for rural area is only 36.0 percent in 1991; although it has recorded increasing ratio decade by decade. The decade of 1981-91, has recorded the

most significant changes in urban literacy whereas it was only 3 percentage points during 1971-81 periods.

Table 13: Rural-urban Literacy Ratio in Nepal 1961-91.

Census years	Male			Female			Total		
	Nepal	Urban	Rural	Nepal	Urban	Rural	Nepal	Urban	Rural
1961	16.4	57.5	14.6	1.8	19.6	1.1	8.9	40.0	7.7
1971	24.7	62.4	22.9	3.7	28.0	2.7	14.3	47.0	12.9
1981	34.9	62.0	32.9	11.5	37.2	9.8	23.5	50.6	21.6
1991a	54.1	78.0	51.9	24.7	54.8	22.0	39.3	66.9	36.8
1991b	54.1	74.6	51.0	25.7	49.4	21.3	39.3	62.5	36.0

Source: Sharma (1989), CBS Population Census, 1991, Urban Tables, Table 6 of VDC wise population from unpublished printouts.

The higher differences between male and female literacy rates for both areas i.e. urban and rural have been always remarkable. The census 1991 records that in urban areas about 75 percent of male literacy is recorded whereas female literacy is recorded only about 50 percent. In rural area the literacy ratio is farther below than in urban areas for both sexes. Some 51 percent among males and only 21.3 percent among females were literate in 1991. The changes in literacy ratio are significantly marked in urban female population during last five census years, which was only 20 percent in 1961, reached about 50 percent in 1991. The other interesting feature is that only 1.1 percent of rural female literate in 1961 reached upto 21.3 percent in 1991, which is not so significant change.

Labour Force: Higher differences between the proportion of labour force in urban and rural areas are one of the distinguishing features of urbanisation in Nepal. Based on available census data, this study presents analysis on occupational and industrial composition of the economically active labour force.

Economic Activity Rates: In all Nepalese censuses since 1971, percentages of economically active population (EAP) to the population 10 years and above activity rates are higher in rural areas compared to urban areas for both males and females (Table 14). The variation between male and

female is higher in urban areas than in rural areas. For instance, according to 1991 census, the male activity rate was nearly two and half times higher than female rate in urban areas. It is also significant to note that in 1991 rural female participation rate was more than twice (58.3 percent) the urban female participation rates (24.8 percent), whereas the male participation rate is not so varied accounting the 69.5 percent in rural areas and the 59.7 percent in urban areas. In brief, in both areas the activity rates for males are substantially higher than the female rates, but the difference is marked higher in urban areas than in rural areas.

Table 14: Refined Activity Rates of Rural/Urban Population in Nepal 1971-91.

Census years	1971		1981		1991b	
Sex	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Male	66.9	83.7	74.8	83.8	59.7	69.5
Female	12.2	36.0	31.5	77.2	24.8	58.3
Both sexes	42.3	60.1	54.9	65.9	42.8	58.6

Source: Sharma (1989), CBS Population Census 1991, Urban Tables, Table 13 and Table 16 of VDC wise population from unpublished prinouts.

A considerable variation is found for female activity rate among urban areas. Among urban areas the activity rates for both sexes range from 36.9 percent (in Gulariya) to lowest 23.4 percent (in Lekhnath) in 1991. These figures showing low activity rates are the major problem, suggesting for more job creation in the cities. Among males the rate of participation ranges from 69.6 percent (Kathmandu) to 49.9 percent (in Walling), whereas female participation rate range from 67.7 percent (in Bhimeswor) to 4.4 percent (in Jaleswor) for the same census period. Patterns of activity rates among male and female show the higher variation in almost all urban area. At regional levels most of urban areas are dominating by relatively lower female activity rates. Generally most of Hill urban areas have relatively higher activity rates (above 40 percent) rather than urban areas (accounting below 40 percent).

Table 15: Annual Growth Rates of Economically Active Population in Nepal, 1971-91.

Sex \ Census years	1971-81			1981-91b		
	Nepal	Urban	Rural	Nepal	Urban	Rural
Male	2.69	8.3	2.4	-0.2	6.4	-1.6
Female	5.47	18.2	5.0	2.3	7.4	1.97
Both Sexes	3.54	10.2	3.2	0.7	6.7	0.2

Source: Same as Table 14.

Growth and changes in the working labour force (economically active population) by urban and rural sectors with comparable figures are shown in Table 15. The average annual growth rate of economically active population for the period 1981-91 shows a rapid growth in urban areas (6.7 percent per annum) relative to the rural labour force growing at the rate of 0.2 percent per annum—below the national average (0.7 percent per annum). The average annual growth rate is more significant for female work force for both urban (7.4 percent) and rural (2 percent) sectors than that of male workforce. The overall growth rates is accounted significantly for urban female labour force for both decades of seventies and eighties.

Distribution of Economically Active Population by Major Industry: The trend of economically active population by industrial groups of urban population since 1971 to 1991 is shown in Table 16. The census data shows that proportion of economically active labour force engaged in agriculture industry is 35.9 percent of the total urban active labour force, whereas this was 66 percent in 1981 census compared to 32.8 percent in 1971. It is difficult to explain the reason for such a fluctuation in the percentage of economically active labour force in different census. In other industrial groups the proportion was increasing and went up to 7.6 percent in manufacturing, 16 percent in commerce and 29.7 percent in personal and community services in 1991, whereas this proportion was 3.7, 10.1 and 17.1 percent respectively in 1981. In the same table with or without the including of newer urban areas (see Table 16 for year 1991a and 1991b respectively), the different results suggest that the nature of newer urban areas (those designated after the 1991 census) display a more rural character.

Table 16: Growth and Percentage Distribution of Economically Active Urban Population by Major Industry Group in Nepal 1971-91.

Industry	1971	1981	1991a	1991b
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	32.8	66.0	24.1	35.9
Mining and quarrying	na	na	0.1	0.1
Manufacturing	10.7	3.7	9.1	7.6
Electricity, gas and water	0.5	0.3	0.9	0.8
Construction	1.3	0.2	2.2	1.9
Commerce	15.3	10.1	19.3	16.0
Transport and communication	3.2	1.1	3.8	3.1
Finance, business and services	1.4	1.5	2.2	1.7
Personal and community services	34.8	17.1	34.5	29.7
Others	-	-	0.6	0.6
Unstated	-	-	3.0	2.6
Total percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total numbers	144600	369636	514610	725852

Source: Same as Table 14., Note : na= not applicable

Among urban areas, there are still large number of urban areas, where the large proportion of economically active labour force is engaged in agricultural sector of economy, ranging from 6.1 percent (in Kathmandu) to 84 percent (in Narayan municipality). Out of 58 municipalities, there are still 37 urban areas, with economically active population engaged in agriculture above the urban average (35.9 percent) and rest of 21 are below this level. Only Kathmandu, Butwal and Nepalgunj accounted below 10 percent of their economically active population in the agriculture in 1991. The distribution of urban economically active population outside the agriculture is very weak. About 8 percent of total urban economically active population is engaged in manufacturing— one of the important sectors of industry. Only Biratnagar, Lalitpur, Kathmandu, Kirtipur and Madhyapur Thimi accounted more than 10 percent in this sector. The case of commercial sector, out of 58, only 19 urban areas met the urban average level (16 percent).

Occupational Structure: Data on occupational structure of urban and rural population affiliated with three major occupational groups, viz. primary,

secondary and tertiary is shown in Table 17. The data shows, that the 1961 and 1971 censuses registered the highest percentage of economically active population in urban areas in tertiary activities (over 40 percent) in contrast to only slight above 2 percent in rural areas. In 1991 census this reached to 48.8 percent in urban areas, whereas only 10.9 percent in rural areas. In general, the huge amount of economically active population of the rural labour force is engaged in agricultural sector (about 86 percent in 1991), whereas the urban areas are dominated by non-agricultural activities. A large number of economically active population in urban areas is engaged in primary activities (35.6 percent). Both for urban and rural areas the trend of economically active population engaged in primary activities is decreasing, and secondary and tertiary activities are increasing decade by decade. The rate of increase varies for both urban and rural areas.

Table 17: Occupational Structure of Urban and Rural Population in Nepal 1961-91.

Sector	Primary		Secondary		Tertiary	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
1961	38.0	96.1	20.1	1.8	41.9	2.1
1971	32.8	96.3	26.6	1.4	40.6	2.3
1981	70.7	94.7	9.5	2.9	19.8	2.4
1991a	23.8	85.4	18.4	3.2	57.8	11.4
1991b	35.6	84.1	15.6	3.0	48.8	10.9

Source: Same as Table 14.

As a whole the urban labour force participation in agricultural and related occupation is slightly slowing down to 35.6 percent in 1991 from 38.0 percent in 1961. The corresponding percentage in rural labour force participation was 86.1 percent from 96.1 percent for the same period respectively. In non-agricultural sector, more significant change is seen in tertiary activities both in urban and rural areas. Clearly, the occupational structure of urban data seen in 1981 does not make sense. Tertiarization of the urban occupational structure is clearly distinguished in Nepalese urban areas. The growth in secondary sector has clearly not kept pace with increasing level of urbanisation in the country.

As for the state of occupational structure by urban localities in 1991, the major proportion of economically active population is engaged in outside the

agriculture (64.4 percent), compared to the rural areas (13.9 percent). The highest proportion of economically active population engaged in non-agricultural sector is observed in Kathmandu accounting 94.1 percent, followed by Butwal (92.2 percent) and Nepalgunj (91.1 percent), whereas the lowest proportion is recorded in Narayan municipality (16 percent). Generally Hill/Mountain urban areas have recorded higher proportion of their economically active population engaged in primary occupation whereas inner Tarai and Kathmandu valley urban areas are dominated by secondary and tertiary activities.

Intra-urban Characteristics

Population characteristics show the most of the designated urban areas are pro-rural in character. However, age structure, dependency ratio, and literacy ratio of population show some semblance of urban character. Here intra-urban characteristics of urban population is discussed below.

The percentage distribution of population among three major age groups, out of 58, 36 urban areas has accounted more than 40 percent of their population in younger age groups (below 15 years), and the rest of 22 urban areas have below this line, ranging between 47.6 percent (in Tikapur) and 31.5 percent in Kathmandu. Higher proportion of population in the adult age group (15-59 years) is found in Kathmandu valley towns, whereas hill urban areas are recorded lower ratio of the adult age groups. The proportion of aged population (60 and over) averages only 5.2 percent, below the national level (5.8 percent). Among urban areas it ranges from 14.5 percent in Panauti to 2.4 percent in Butwal. Generally the proportion of younger ages is higher in almost all urban areas except very few areas, which reduced the most productive age group of 15-59 years, whereas proportion of older people is relatively low.

As for the dependency characteristics by urban areas in 1991, the highest ratio was accounted in Panauti (about 109) followed by Tikapur (about 108), and least dependency ratios recorded in Lalitpur about 57 dependents per hundred working age population (15-59 years). Only two urban areas Panauti and Tikapur have the dependency above 100. Seventeen urban areas fall into 90-100 category. The highest number of urban areas listed between the ratio of 80-90 and 70-80 category is of 21 and 15 respectively. By geographic regions, most of the hill towns have relatively higher dependency than Tarai towns.

Relatively higher sex ratio among urban areas is listed in Tarai towns accounting 100 and above except Tikapur and Mahendranagar, whereas almost all hill towns have recorded below this level. Out of 58 urban areas, 41 have the ratio above 100 and the rest of 17 areas have below this level. Generally most of Tarai and all of Kathmandu valley and Inner Tarai urban areas are dominated by higher sex ratio 100 and above, and in other hand more hill urban areas have relatively lower sex ratio. Comparatively recently designated urban areas (after 1991 census) has accounted lower sex ratio than those urban areas emerged before this census.

There are 27 urban areas with more than 60 percent literate in total residence in 1991. Even yet there are 5 urban areas with below the national literacy ratio. Among urban areas literacy ratio ranges from 77 percent in Baglung to only 30.1 percent in Gulariya. The higher gap in male and female literacy ratio is a quite distinguished feature of most of urban areas of the country. A comparison of literacy among urban areas in 1991 for both male and female literacy is much lower in general and female literacy in particular. This gap is wider in newly reclassified urban areas.

A comparison of activity rates, particularly for females, is found wide variation among urban areas. The highest activity rate is recorded in Gulariya (36.9 percent) in 1991. Among males, the rates of participation ranges between 69.6 percent (in Kathmandu) to 49.9 percent (in Walling), where as female participation rate ranges from 67.7 percent (in Bhimeswor) to 4.4 percent (in Jaleswor).

The male activity rate is always higher than total as well as female activity rates, except in Dasharath Chand, Amargadhi Putalibazar, and Bhimeswor, these urban areas accounted higher female participation ratio than that of male. Biratnagar, Rajbiraj, Janakpur, Birgunj, Nepalgunj, Jaleswar, Kalaiya, Malangawa, Siraha, Gulariya and Gaur (all are Tarai towns) have below 10 percent of female participation in economic activities of working age groups. Out of 58, only two (Dasharath Chand and Amargadhi) have a higher female activity rates than males, and rest of all are high male participation rate.

There are still large numbers of urban areas, where the large proportion of active labour force is engaged in agricultural industry, ranging from 6.1 percent (in Kathmandu) to 84 percent (in Narayan) of the economically active population engaged in this sector. Out of 58, there are still 37 urban areas which are above the urban average (35.9 percent) engaged in agriculture. Only Kathmandu, Butwal and Nepalgunj accounted below 10 percent of their

economically active population engaged in agriculture. Relatively higher ratio of participation in tertiary sector is found in older urban areas than those of recently designated. More urban character of participation of economically active population in industry group is found in Biratnagar, Dharan, Hetaunda and Butwal in Tarai, Kirtipur, Lalitpur, and Kathmandu in Kathmandu Valley, and Pokhara in Hills (Table 18).

Table 18: Demographic and Other socio Economic characteristics of Urban Areas in Nepal by Geographic Regions (based on 1991 Population Census).

Mean calculations

Geographic regions				
Parameters	Hills/Mountain	Kathmandu valley	Inner Tarai	Tarai
Growth rates (1981-91)	17.8	6.2	11.5	8.2
Age structure(%)				
<15 years	40.4	35.1	42.1	40.8
15-59 years	53.1	59.1	53.2	54.3
> 60 years	6.5	5.1	4.7	4.9
Dependency ratio (per 100 population)				
Young	76.6	59.7	79.1	75.5
Old	12.4	9.9	8.9	9.0
Total	89.0	69.6	88.0	84.5
Sex ratio (males/100 females)				
	97.3	105.7	104.2	108.8
Literacy ratio (%)				
Total	58.7	67.3	54.7	53.9
Male	74.1	79.7	69.3	66.0
Female	44.1	54.3	39.7	40.8
Refined economic activity rate (%)				
Total	29.0	30.9	32.2	31.9
Male	59.7	60.1	63.1	61.0
Female	46.0	30.2	39.5	13.8
Major occupation (percent age of economically active population)				
Agricultural population	62.8	30.5	50.8	35.6

Regarding the state of occupational structure by urban localities in 1991, the major proportion of economically active population is engaged outside the agriculture, although there are large number of urban areas that have recorded still large proportion of economically active population is engaged in agriculture. Fourteen of total urban areas have more than 70 percent of their active population engaged in agricultural occupation. The highest proportion in non-agricultural activities is observed in Kathmandu (94.1 percent) followed by Butwal (92.9 percent) and Nepalgunj (91.1 percent) whereas the least percentage recorded in Narayan municipality (16 percent).

Demographic and other socio economic characteristics of urban population calculated at mean value by geographic regions in Nepal is presented table in Table 18. Percentage share of urban population among major three different age groups shows higher proportion of people less than 15 years in Inner Tarai and Tarai region's urban areas. Kathmandu valley region has least share of population in this age group of 60 years and over in Hills/Mountain region. It indicates higher dependency rate in Hills/Mountain than in Inner/Tarai region. Kathmandu valley region has lower figures of dependency.

Sex ratio of the hill towns shows the female dominance in average whereas all other regions have male dominance. Total literacy ratio by regions shows that Kathmandu valley and Hills/Mountain towns have better condition than Tarai and Inner Tarai region. The same situation is found in male as well as female literacy, but male literacy is always higher, whereas female literacy is far below. The wide difference in literacy between male and females is a quite significant in all urban areas. The economic activity rates of urban areas of Tarai and inner Tarai region show better position, but female activity is better in Hills/Mountain region. Tarai towns have recorded least activity rates for female in average. Occupationally Hills/Mountain towns are dominated by agricultural population.

Population characteristics show the most of urban areas are pro-rural in character. Specially, those urban areas designated after 1991 census display their more rural characteristics than those of older ones. This pattern would be the result of over-bounding of urban areas.

Concluding Remarks

During the last 50 years, Nepal has been experiencing a considerable rise in population, with increasing urbanisation. From 1952/54 to 1991, urban growth has recorded relatively rapid, although the level of urbanisation is still very low. In 1991, some slightly over 12 percent of total population of the

country lived in 58 municipalities. The dramatic rise in urban population occurred from 1981 onwards.

Regional differences in urbanisation show the Kathmandu valley has always remained higher level of urbanisation. The another key feature of urbanisation in Nepal is the predominance of Terai Region in terms of urbanisation level as well as urban growth compared to Hills/Mountain Region. Experiences show that Biratnagar, Dharan, Janakpur, Birgunj, Hetaunda, Bharatpur, Butwal, Nepalgunj, Dhangadhi in the Tarai, Pokhara in Hills and Kathmandu valley towns will be the major urban agglomeration in the future.

The distribution of total urban population according to city size shows still the domination of cities (size class I) followed by medium towns (size class III) although the proportion of total urban population in cities is decreasing over the decades. Small towns are generally characterizing in Hills/Mountain region where as large towns dominate Tarai and inner Tarai region.

City with its rank hierarchy seems to play a significant role in urban system. In Nepal, Kathmandu is only the city which has maintained its top position in the rank. Biratnagar and Pokhara have consistently risen their rank in 1991. Most of the towns, those designated after 1991 census, entered middle classes have major distortion in rank order. Nepalese urban system does not display the character as suggested by Zipf. The ratio of present actual population to optimum population for urban areas has found high differences for large and medium sized towns.

The primacy patterns of the urban areas, Kathmandu valley and Tarai region, have higher level of primacy compared to other regions. Although the Kathmandu Metropolitan City is slowing down its dominance in terms of share of urban population from 38 percent in 1981 to 24 percent in 1991, the overall situation of urban system in the country indicates that the rural-urban migration is mainly oriented towards larger towns where public services are concentrated.

The pattern of population increases in both age and sex selective, concentration in the age group between 15-60 years working age groups by a dominance of males as compared to the rural and total population. However, this disparity in age distribution between urban and rural areas has narrowed considerably over the years. Cities have sex ratios much more heavily weighted in favor of males than the national and rural figures. A further indication of male-dominant character of urban population can be obtained

from the age-specific sex ratios. The male dominant sex ratios of the urban areas are largely the result of the dominance of male selective migration from rural to urban areas.

The urban/rural activity rates show the distinct character of urbanisation in Nepal. Urban activity rate is always lower than activity rates in rural areas for both sexes in 1981 census. However in 1991, urban activity rate supersedes to the rural activity rates. Very high variation between male and female activity rates is found in urban and rural areas. Urban labour force is growing faster (at the rate of 6.67 percent annually) than the rural labour force (0.2 percent).

The low level of industrialization is clearly reflected by the predominance of economically active population engaged in agriculture both in urban and rural areas. Composition of EAP in different occupation and industries group also changed from one to another census. The predominance of tertiary activity is the most notable feature of urban economically active population in Nepal. Since 1961, this sector has been growing in urban population where as the urban labour force participation in agricultural and related activities is slightly increasing, although it is still high. The growth in secondary sector has not kept pace with increasing urbanisation in the country.

Generally Hill towns characterizes by higher dependency, lower proportion of working age population, female dominance. Although the female activity rate is better than other regions. Kathmandu valley towns have better urbanised characteristics than other regions as shown by least dependency ratio higher literacy ratio for both sexes. Inner Tarai and Tarai towns have almost similar in their characteristics with higher dependency as well as higher sex ratios. The level of literacy is not better in urban centers than other regions. Female activity rate is far below.

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THE STATE OF CHILD LABOUR IN NEPAL

Yogendra Bahadur Gurung

Introduction

Since the last two decades the child labour has been increasing in Nepal. As the tendency of children to work both inside and outside home increases, the issues have also been raising from the various sectors with different approaches. Not only a number of social and development organisations but also policy makers as well as academicians have been attracted to this issue. Some are concerned with the advocacy against the violation of child rights, some are with rescuing and rehabilitating children from the streets and exploitative forms, some are with promoting awareness of parents not to send their children to work but to send them to school and some are working on this issue. However, the result is as it is, which may be considered in one way that it is coincidence of increasing child labour, especially in urban areas, and increasing activities about child labourers in the country. Accordingly, there are a number of researches conducted in different issues on child labour or child work. But the definition used has some problems when we compare various outputs with those researches. There is no uniformity in definition. It is, therefore, better first to define the child work and child labour in context.

There are a number of definitions used in the study on child labour. Most are specific to the contexts prevailing in the country. Contexts may be according to the cultural and social milieu or law generated for the governance, which creates a fundamental problem in defining child labour and makes difficulties in comparative studies among various regions. Considering these problems, various organizations and academics concerning children and labour attempt to define child labour in a manner that led to uniformity in definition.

In order to define child labour, age is vital. Minimum Age Convention No. 138 (1973) set working definition of "child" as a person below the age limit of 15 years. Later on, the UN Convention of Child Rights (1989) set a

quite wider limit of the age of "child", as up to 17 years. Nepal has ratified both conventions and made "Labour Act 1991" and "Children's Act 1992". Children Act defines "a child" as every human being below the age of 16 years and prohibits the employment of children below age of 15 years. The Labour Act 1991 defines a "minor" as a person between 14 and 18 years, which prohibits employment of children below age of 16 years and which is likely to be harmful to their life and also prohibits persons below 18 years of age in certain specified jobs (ILO/IPEC 1995).

International Labour Organization (ILO), a leading concerned organization, defines that the "most children work but all the works by children can not be considered as child labour. Child labour is something different - that young people are being exploited, or overworked, or deprived of their right to health or education - or just childhood". United Nations (1990) also defines child labour in the similar fashion. UNICEF points out that, at one end of the continuum, the work is beneficial, promoting or enhancing of child's physical, mental, spiritual, moral, and social development, while at the other end, it is destructive or exploitative. UNICEF adds that need to distinguish between beneficial and intolerable forms of child work is desirable.

This article is based on the studies conducted previously by various organizations and individuals. Accordingly, the attempt made to define child labour is scant. Concepts and definitions used in this study are, therefore, based on the specification to the purposes of the study. Definitions of child labour used by different studies, which are cited in this paper, may not be strictly comparable. But in any case, it tries to answer the questions as to how many children are working in Nepal as child labour, what are the sectors where they work, and the reasons why they become child labourer. For this clarification on who are the working children, what is meant by working children, and who actually are child labourer needs to be done at the outset.

The Context

In Nepal, more than 81 per cent of the total population depend on agriculture. More than 90 per cent live in rural areas. GNP per capita is US \$ 210.00 (PRB 1998) and over 45 per cent live below the poverty line. Literacy rate is only 40 per cent. Child population was recorded as 6,660,756 (36%) in 1991. Agriculture system is still traditional and only in the subsistence level for the livelihood. Due to persistent poverty with overwhelming agricultural economy, children constitute an integral part of family workforce. They are

engaged in ~~workforce in both~~ formal and informal sectors. Some studies found out that both boys and girls begin to work around six years of age and surprisingly spend a significant amount of their time on productive and household activities. They specially help around home, running errands, or helping their parents on the family farm (ILO/IPEC 1994).

The major jobs children involved in are: agriculture, cottage industry, manufacture, plantation, domestic, catering, selling, manual labour, tourism and travel industries, and others like ragpicking, prostitution, begging, etc. (Suwal et al. 1997; Sattaur 1993; Bajracharya, 1999). Among these sectors, some are the most intolerable and exploitative forms that seem to be a social problem. Intolerable and exploitative forms of child labour include bonded child labour, forced labour, girl trafficking, use of child labour in domestic and industrial sectors, and exploitation of child labour by carpet industries, street children, etc.

Migration of children is a way to risk exposure to health hazard as well as exploitation. Migration keeps children far away from parents and home without having love and care, which is necessary, at any rate, for child development. A considerable majority are found in urban areas, specially, cities in Kathmandu valley and the places where industries are located. Most of the children who were working as child labourers in Kathmandu valley were migrants and they were originated from the adjoining peripheral districts (Gurung 1999).

Another sector of high risk condition for child labour, especially for girls, is sexual abuse. Young girls are regularly subject to eve teasing, obscene remarks, and sexual harassment and abuse, including rape by male coworkers, (masters or brokers) and management staffs (CWIN 1993). Sexual abuse is also prevalent among the friends and low paying clients mainly in carpet factories and trafficking in young girls to brothels in Delhi, Bombay, etc., in India. The increase in the child sex trade is no doubt largely due to the internationalization of sex tourism, together with the false perception by many that there is less danger of infection from AIDS with younger partners (ILO 1998). Commercial sexual exploitation is one of the most brutal forms of violence against children. Child victims suffer from extreme physical, psychosocial and emotional abuse, which have lifelong and life-threatening consequences. They risk early pregnancy, maternal mortality and sexually transmitted diseases (ILO 1998).

Therefore, children working in several places may be prone to hazardous environment. Health and safety hazards in the working environment can be

related to the nature of the work, e.g., whether or not the work involves intrinsically hazardous process, to their exposure to hazardous substances and agents or to their exposure to poor working conditions (ILO 1998). Chemical, physical, biological, and psychological hazards are often found in combination with the workplace which will be devastating for children, causing irreversible damage to their physiological development, resulting in permanent disabilities, with serious consequences for their adult lives (ILO 1998) and their development.

Methodological Issues on Child Labour

There are basically two methods used in conducting studies on child labour in Nepal. One is *minimum method*, a micro level study that is based on the information directly obtained from the individuals. Most of this type are based on non-probability sample by selecting individuals directly. Another one is *maximum method*, a macro level study that is conducted using information obtained from the survey of the households based on the probability sample.

In various studies, estimations of the child labour have been made in different time. Some are based on facts and some are provocative, which create a lack of uniformity in estimating child labour. Provocative estimates are also based on facts but always overestimate the actual figure to draw attention of the audiences and related governmental and non-governmental agencies. Most of these estimates are based on minimum method. Information obtained by minimum method can not be used in estimating the volume of child labour because it is not a nationally representative and may not be based on the probability. However, this method has some advantages, which the maximum method could not capture. For instance, the number of domestic and bonded child labour, street children, sex workers and the details of those are usually excluded by maximum method, which are possible to capture by minimum method.

Due to having different properties, estimate of child labour based on different methods varies from one to another. Not only due to properties, but also due to definition adopted for child labour in the respective contexts, the estimate comes differently. However, it may give a glance of child working and child labourers in Nepal, based on the secondary information and studies previously made by various organizations and individuals.

Nature and Extent of Child Labour

Child labourers in Nepal have been increasing day by day. The rate of increase is 18.1% per year (Pathak 1999). There are about 500,000 children estimated in 1995 who left home and working mostly in urban areas of Nepal and in India (Pradhan 1995). Of which about 300,000 are involved in different jobs, 5000 are on the street, 40,000 are working in debt bondage, about 50,000 are working in the sex industries, 100 in prison and the remaining are trafficked to India for the several purposes. A study on street children estimates that there are approximately 26,000 children on the street and 3,700 children on the street (CWS 1996). CW/CCD (1997) found that 71 per cent in the rural, 52 per cent in the urban, and 63 per cent children in the bonded families are working either outside for pay in cash/kind or contributing to domestic work.

In 1996, the total estimated child population aged 5-14 was 6,226 thousands, which is more than 29 per cent of the total projected population in 1996 and of which males and females are 3,202 and 3,024 respectively (Suwal et al. 1997). Among the total estimated, working children were 2,596 thousands (41.7%) constituting 1,157 thousands of males (36.1%) and 1,439 thousands of females (47.6%). They are about 2,476 thousands in rural areas which is almost 21 times higher than in urban areas (120 thousands) (Table 1). This difference is even wider among males, that is, almost 24 times higher in rural than in urban areas. More females than males may be due to the working children taken are irrespective of their current school attendance and type and duration of work. Age pattern of working children shows that children aged 10-14 are about double of those aged 5-9 years. The pattern is similar among both sexes.

**Table 1: Estimates of the Working Children
Aged 5-14 years in Nepal, 1996 (in '000)**

Categories	Male	Female	Total
Place of Residence			
Rural	1,110	1,366	2,476
Urban	47	73	120
Age Group			
5-9	352	492	844
10-14	756	893	1,645
Nepal	1,157	1,439	2,596

Source: ILO/IPEC (1998)

Note: Total may not add to the total because of the rounding effect in the decomposition process.

CBS (1999) estimates the economically active children aged 5-14 years from the information of Labour Force Survey 1998/99. The total economically active children are about 41 per cent of the total of 4,860 surveyed children (Table 2). The percentage of economically active is higher among females (45.1%) than among males (36.8%), and the sex pattern is similar also in both rural and urban residences. But the variation is relatively higher among rural children. Among the economically active, rural children are more than double of urban children; that is, 43.6% compared to 19%. For both sexes, rural-urban pattern is found to be similar to the national level. According to age distribution, economically active children aged 10-14 are almost three times higher than those aged 5-9. It is not surprising that increased age of children are more likely to work. Age pattern among sexes is also similar to the national level.

**Table 2: Economically Active Children
Aged 5-14 Years in Nepal, 1998/99**

Categories	Male	Female	Total
Place of residence			
Rural	39.3	48.0	43.6
Urban	17.3	21.0	19.0
Age Group			
5-9	18.3	23.6	20.9
10-14	55.2	67.1	60.9
Nepal	36.8	45.1	40.9
N	2,480	2,380	4,860

Source: CBS (1999), Table 12.1.

Migration of Children: Migration of the children in search of employment has been a major way of being child labourer in Nepal. Children leaving home and living away from parents and home are a easy way of being exploited by masters. It is because children are physically as well as psychologically weak. They have almost no bargaining power to their employment. Migration of children and child labour can be seen synonymously in these respects. Therefore, unless we examine the situation of migration the study of child labour is incomplete.

City is the centre of power and privilege. It exerts its influence in charting the direction of country's political, social, and economic development. City, especially capital city, has disproportionately high share of consumption as well as investment in the urban sector (Gugler 1988). On the other hand, extreme poverty and land distribution pattern, lack of education opportunities and feudal legacy of employing servants in the rural areas are fuelling the migration of children toward the urban centres (CWIN 1997 & 1998; INSEC 1996; Gurung 1999). High growth rate of urban population (5.9% per annum during 1981-91) in Nepal can explain this situation.

The percentage of children migrated to urban areas was 54.1 irrespective of the place of origin (KC et al. 1997). Of the migrant to urban area, 53.8 were from rural and 54.8 per cent were from other urban areas. Gurung (1999) estimated the migration rate of children aged 5-17 to Kathmandu valley is 1.7 per cent from Nuwakot district and 1.6 per cent from various peripheral districts irrespective of the place of residence. The median age of them is 14 years.

Migration status can be seen clearly from the information provided by CWIN (1998) among the children working in various informal sectors in urban Nepal, even though it based on a micro-level purposive sample survey (Table 3). This shows the overwhelming majority of the surveyed children is migrant. For instance, among working children, the percentage of migrants is 97 per cent in carpet factories, 95.3 per cent in domestic servants, 93.6 per cent in shoe shining, 92.5 per cent in porting, and 86.7 per cent in tempo services.

**Table 3: Migrant Children by Types of Works
(Urban Child Labour)**

Types of Work	Migrants (%)	Non-migrants	Total (%)
Carpet	97.0	3.0	100.0
Domestic	95.3	4.7	100.0
Shoe shining	93.6	6.4	100.0
Porters	92.5	7.5	100.0
Tempo	86.7	13.3	100.0

Source: CWIN (1998), table 6. 1.

Among the working children, KC et al. (1997) estimated the migrant child labourer in the nation as a whole by blowing the sample up into the projected child population in 1996 based on the 1991 census. The definition used for "migrant child labour was limited to the information on reasons for migration reported by the respondents at the time of survey. It is defined as the children aged 5-17 who moved out from their home for 6 and more months due to both economic including agriculture, service, and search of job and non-economic reasons. Among those who moved for noneconomic reasons, children are included only those who stated they were working in economic activities immediately before and after migration.

The estimated total migrant child labour is 120 thousands, which is about 1.6 per cent of the total projected children aged 5-17 in Nepal (Table 4). Of this, males are 68 thousands and females are 51 thousands with the sex ratio of 133. The estimated child labourers are 70 thousands in age group 15-17, which is more than one-third of the total. It is about 5.3 per cent of the total projected child population aged 15-17 in Nepal. The child labourers are 31 thousands in age group 10-14 and only 5 thousands in age group 5-9 years. The variation in sex is much wider in age group 10-14; that is, sex ratio is

about 181. As Nepal is rural agrarian-based, more than 95 per cent of the child labour live in rural areas (114 thousands), whereas only 4 per cent live in urban Nepal (5 thousands). The sex ratio is 135 for rural and no sex difference is found in urban areas.

**Table 4: Estimation of Migrant Child Labour
Aged 5-17, 1995/96 (in '000)**

Categories		Male	Female	Total	Sex ratio
Residence:	Urban	2	2	5	100
	Rural	66	49	114	135
Age at move:	5-14	22	14	36	157
	15-17	38	32	70	119
Nepal		68	51	120	133

Note: Sum of the given categories may not add to total due to rounding and decomposition process. Source: KC et al. (1997), Table 2.3.

Sectors of Child Labour

There are several sectors where the children are working. Some of the major sectors, in general, are based on the previous studies done by various organizations. Suwal et al. (1997) made an estimation of economically active children according to the types of work in which they are involved (Table 5). The overwhelming majority (95%) of the economically active children is involved in agriculture and related sectors (1,576 thousands). Other sectors of the work are far behind of agriculture. After agriculture, the majority of them is involved in service (27 thousands) and closely followed by construction, transportation, and communication works (26 thousands). Children involved in general technical and production works are 14 and 13 thousands, respectively. The least children are found to be involved in sales works (7 thousands). Involvement of males is distinctly higher than the involvement of females in almost all sectors of child work. The overall sex ratio of economically active children is 116. The highest sex ratio is observed among sales workers, that is 250. This is followed by production work (160) and by construction, transportation and communication work, whereas there is no sex difference in service sectors.

**Table 5: Economically Active Children
Aged 5-14 by Types of Work, 1996 (in '000)**

Types of Work	Male	Female	Total	Sex ratio
Agriculture related	844	732	1,576	115
General technical	8	6	14	133
Sales workers	5	2	7	250
Service workers	13	13	27	100
Production workers	8	5	13	160
Construction, transportation & communication workers	15	11	26	136
Nepal	894	770	1,664	116

Source: Suwal et al. (1997), table 10.

Among the migrant children, KC et al. (1997) found the majority is engaged in agriculture (31.6%). This is followed by service (26.8%) and then by others category (24.1%) (Table 6). Others include those children working in household chores, dependants, disables, students, not working and the type of work not stated. Child labourers involved in nonagricultural sectors are also notable (8.5%).

**Table 6: Current Occupational Status of Migrant Child Labour
at the Time of Survey, 1996**

Occupational status	N	%
Agriculture	156	31.6
Service	132	26.8
Non-agricultural labour	42	8.5
Agricultural labour	18	3.7
Trade/Business	13	2.6
Cottage industry	11	2.2
Others	119	24.1
Total	493	100.0

Source: KC et al. (1997), table 2. 10.

CW/CCD (1997) found the major bulk of the working children is engaged in domestic work (Table 7). Of the total working children, domestic workers are 94.2 per cent in rural areas, 88.4 per cent in urban areas, and 64.7 per cent

among bonded children. The remaining proportion of working children for all sectors is engaged in non-domestic works. Among them, economically active children are 26.3 per cent in rural areas (22.2% in domestic and 4.1 % in non-domestic), 16.2 per cent in urban areas (10.1 % in domestic and 6.1 % in non-domestic), and 50.2 per cent in the bonded families (28.0% in domestic and 22.2% in non-domestic).

Table 7: Percentage of Children Working as Domestic and Non-domestic Sectors among Rural, Urban, and Bonded Families

Type of Children	Working Sector		Total
	Domestic	Non domestic	
Rural	94.2	5.8	100.0
Urban	88.4	11.6	100.0
Bonded	64.7	35.3	100.0
Economically Active			
Rural	22.2	4.1	26.3
Urban	10.1	6.1	16.2
Bonded	28.0	22.2	50.2

Source: CW/CCD (1997), table 4 & 23. 1.

CWS (1996) found, among the street children, majority are boys and most are between the ages of 9 and 16 years. Of the total street children, more than half of them are engaged in ragpicking and the remaining are involved in begging, tempo/taxi service, portering, and street vending. CWIN (1998) noted five major sectors, namely carpet industry, domestic servants, shoe shining, porters, and tempo *khalasis* (helpers), based on the information on migrant status of children in urban Nepal (see Table 3). All these sectors absorb the overwhelming majority of the migrant child labourers.

In addition, there are a number of girl children involving in commercial sex trade. Trafficking of girls is a serious problem in Nepal. Five to seven thousands girls are reported to have been trafficked to different brothels of India (Pradhan 1997).

Causes of Child Labour

There are several factors responsible for being child labourer. They may be from both demand and supply or push and pull sides. Both sides may be equally responsible for the problems of child labour. Child labour is closely connected with migration. There are basically two approaches of migration, that is neo-classical and structural approach. Neo-classical economists emphasis the migration depends on individual's choice or decision. Migration proceeds in response to urban-rural differences in expectation rather than actual earnings (Todaro 1976). Migrants consider the various labour market opportunities available to them, as between the rural and urban sectors, and choose the one, which maximizes their 'expected' gains from migration (Todaro 1992). This approach is less relevant to the child labourers. Making choice or decision to migrate, chances of getting job differ substantially from person to person for reasons that are social rather than random. Children may not have power to have decision. So, the idea of a 'choice' to migrate becomes questionable. The structural approach considers migration as a process (Lewis 1954; Ranis and Fei 1961). This explains the process of rural-urban labour transfer. Labour from the predominantly rural primary sector (e.g., agriculture) would migrate to the urban, secondary or tertiary sector (i.e., manufacturing and services). This process would continue until all 'surplus labour' is removed from agriculture and labour, and therefore population transfers from rural to urban locations as part of a process of capitalist development. Child migration is also a part of this process, which has been increasingly experienced in less developed countries like Nepal in present days. Both approaches see the migration as an economic matter only. There are also some other factors beyond economy, that is social factor, which also determines whether migration takes place or not.

Socio-cultural background and the land distribution patterns are the roots of the child labour. In Nepal, legacy of the feudal rule is still apparent in the great influence that village elites, large landowners and money lenders exert over the poor (Sattaur 1993), which has been continued in Nepal. This system continues to oppress the mass poverty in Nepal. Debt bondage labour under the Kamaiya system and the domestic servants are the examples of this system. On the other hand, social indifference is also root of the child labour (Pradhan 1990). The poor parents exploit their children's labour because they do not have any alternative that the society provides for them and they do it because the society lets them. In fact, the problem of the child labour arises

with the insensitivity of the society, as a whole towards a plight of children and with the ignorance which surrounds the whole issue.

Poverty may be seen with either of three main things in Nepalese context. They are land ownership or financial situation or food sufficiency for the family. People with less land directly mean that they have insufficient food for their living. National Planning Commission estimates that 6 per cent of the population owns 46 per cent of the cultivable land. Even though the Nepal is a country of agricultural economy, the agricultural system is traditional by nature. Many families do not have subsistence level of land. About 69 per cent of landholdings are less than one hectare in size (NESAC 1998:117). Most of the smallholdings provide enough food for stretches of three to eight months at a time and the people have to find work or food for the remainder of the year (Sattaur 1993). In some areas, the food is sufficient even for less than a month, that is, only 20 days in a year (Dahal 1989). For the rest of the days, people have to work outside home to earn money to buy food. Children are also part of the earners and critical for family survival among poor households. They contribute around 20-25 per cent of family income (ILO 1998).

CW/CCD (1997) reveals that the poverty has been reported as the leading reason for working outside (non-domestic work). The second main reason is parents who have been blamed for enforcing child labour. Financial trouble has been the principal cause which has led the children to be employed in industries. Lack of access to resources (poverty) has been the root cause of child labour in industries.

ILO (1995) concludes that the major causes of child labour in Nepal are identified as abject poverty and financial pressure, unemployment/underemployment, family disruption, lack of alternatives, inadequacy of education system, inadequate enforcement of legislation, abduction/deception and prevalence of public attitudes and values which tolerate and sometimes condone child labour.

CWIN (1989) notes that the 100 per cent of the children reported that they leave home expecting better life in the city. About 60 per cent of the children reported that they leave home due to too much work at home and no chances to go to school and 27 per cent reported due to step parent's maltreatment. On the other hand, the main reason why they do work is poverty (100%). About 24 per cent report that they work due to death of earning member of family.

Table 8 sums up reasons why children leave home. CWS (1996) found that the principal reasons why children leave home is domestic

problems (25.2%). This is followed by personal reasons (21.5%), other's influence (16.8%) and by poverty reasons (11.6%). INSEC (1996) found that 43 per cent of the total children reported that they left home due to parent's suggestion. Poverty reason comes at second position (19.5%) and personal reasons at third (14%). But, Gurung (1999) found the poverty reason (31 %) is the principal reason why children leave home. The next main reason is parent's suggestion (22.8%) and domestic problems (15.5%). Other's influence and personal reasons are also found to be important. However, according to the result provided by various studies, poverty, parent's suggestion, domestic problems, and personal reasons are found to be most important and common reasons behind children leaving home.

Table 8: Reasons for Children Leaving Home

Main Reasons	Sources		
	CWS 1996 (table 9.9)	INSEC 1996 (table 10)	Gurung 1999 (table 4.21)
Parent's suggestion	—	43.0	22.8
Domestic problems	25.2	4.5	15.5
Personal reasons	21.5	14.0	10.9
Other's influence	16.8	12.5	12.5
Poverty reasons	11.6	19.5	31.0
Others	15.8	6.5	7.6
Not stated	9.1	—	—
Total % N	100.0 (362)	100.0 (200)	100.0 (303)

According to the various studies, poverty reason has been made by summarizing those reasons reported by respondents, such as insufficient food at home, no or less land, or lack of money to afford food, in search of work due to lack of food. Parent's suggestion refers to both advice or enforcement for children to go outside, particularly to city, for work. Domestic problem is the summary of the reasons about lack of love, care, and parental guidance, death of parents, mistreatment by step-parents, abandoned by parents, thrown out of home, abusive and alcoholic parents, domestic quarrels, and violence in the family. Personal interests include those reasons related to dislike of village life and dream of city life, work and earn in the city, to study, or personal misdeeds like stealing, fighting, or causing trouble for the family or

neighbours. Other's influence refers to the friends' or neighbours' or brokers' influence to go outside home for work.

Discussions and Conclusions

Estimation shows that 41.7 per cent of the total projected child population in Nepal in 1996 are working in various sectors, that is 2,596 thousands. Similarly, 36.1 per cent of males and 47.6 per cent of females population are estimated to be working, they are 1,156 thousands and 1,439 thousands, respectively. Among working children, 2,476 thousands reside in rural and 120 thousands in urban areas of Nepal. Accordingly, working children aged 10-14 years are almost double of those aged 5-9 years.

Economic activity rate of children aged 5-14 years is about 41 per cent. The rate for rural areas is more than double of urban areas. This is for females, which is about 9 percentage points greater than that for males. The results indicate that females are more economically active than males and it is even more in rural areas. The methodological issue on collecting information by Central Bureau of Statistics can justify these both findings that household works have been included in the economic activity. Female participation in household chores is nearly compulsory in Nepal and this tendency is even greater in rural areas.

Migration is a process for children to become worker, especially in urban areas. The migration rate of children to the Kathmandu valley is about 1.7 per cent. The percentage of children migrated to urban areas was 54 irrespective of the place of origin in 1996. Of the migrant to urban area, about 54 per cent from rural and about 55 per cent from other urban areas. In the Kathmandu valley, the migration of children is overwhelming.

Estimation of migrant child workers shows that there are 120 thousands, which is 1.6 per cent of total projected children aged 5-17 years in Nepal. The sex ratio of migrant children is distinctly high, that is 133. Females are considerably higher than males among working children when the household works are included in the economic activity. But it has been inter-changed when the migration for economic reasons is considered. There is no unnatural result among different ages of migrant children. Children at higher ages tend to migrate more than at lower ages. The rural migrant overwhelmingly dominates the urban migration in numbers, because the urban population posits more than 90 per cent in Nepal.

In addition, there are a number of girl children involving in commercial sex trade. Pradhan (1997) noted that five to seven thousands girls are reported to have trafficked to different brothels of India.

Major bulk of the working children are engaged in domestic work. Domestic workers are 94 per cent among rural, 88 per cent among urban, and 65 per cent among bonded children. The remaining are engaged in non-domestic work. Among rural, economically active children are 22.2 per cent in domestic and 4.1 per cent in non-domestic. Among urban, 10.1 per cent are in domestic and 6.1 per cent in non-domestic. Among bonded families, 28.0 per cent are in domestic and 22.2 per cent in non-domestic. Of the non-domestic works, the child labourers are engaged in brick and tiles, match factory, confectionery, and carpet weaving.

Overwhelming majority (95%) of the economically active children are involved in agriculture and related sectors (1,576 thousands). This is followed by service (27 thousands) and construction, transportation, and communication works (26 thousands). Children involved in general technical and production works are 14 and 13 thousands respectively.

For migrant children, agriculture (31.6%) and service (26.8%) are the most common to all sectors. Besides, carpet industry, domestic servants, shoe shining, porters, and tempo khalasis are also common for migrant children in urban areas. For the street children, ragpicking is the most common, even though begging, tempo/taxi conducting, portering, and street vending are also important.

Socio-cultural background of children is the main root of child labour in Nepal. Legacy of the feudal culture is still apparent in a great influence that village elites, large landowners and money lenders exert over the poor which continues to oppress the mass poverty. Consequently, the debt bondage labour and the domestic servants are emerged. This system results into abduction/ deception and prevalence of public attitudes and values and which again results into social indifference and the insensitivity due to deprivation and the ignorance. The poor parents exploit their children's labour because they do not have any alternative and the society lets them to do so.

As Nepal is a rural agrarian country with persistent poverty, lack of access to resources has been another root cause of child labour. Poor households need money which their children can earn and children commonly contribute around 20-25 per cent of family income, since poor households spend the bulk of income on food in Nepal. Land distribution pattern is also responsible factor for the poverty. Many families do not have subsistence

level of land. People with lack of land directly means that they have insufficient food for their living. Less landholdings provide enough food for stretches of three to eight months at a time and the people have to find work or food for the remainder of the year.

In addition, parents' suggestion and domestic problems are also important for leaving home and becoming child labour. Both reasons may have two sides, that is, poverty and family problems. Parent(s) suggests or enforces their children to go for work even far from home when they do not have sufficient resources for livelihood and when they have serious problems within the family or family disruption. Family problems may be from the death of parent(s) or introduction of stepmother or step-father at home that consequent as maltreatment from the stepparents to the children. In this case, biological parent(s) may advise child to go to the work.

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MOBILITY AND AGRARIAN CHANGE IN CENTRAL NEPAL¹

Jagannath Adhikari

Central Nepal has been a region subjected much to the influence of mobility of its inhabitants since about 200 years ago. But its role has become crucial in recent times, mainly because of limited resources and economic opportunities in hill villages. Even though mobility of different kinds also occurred for many reasons (e.g. bringing salt from Tibetan border or goods from Indian border or working in the armies of Prithvi Narayan Shah of Gorkha, since the Mid-18th the century AD) even in the distant past, mobility for earning/supporting livelihoods was/is of prime concern to people in the recent past as well as in present times. This livelihood earning mobility include foreign labour migration (for army and other jobs), long-term migration within the country and seasonal migration within the country and abroad. The impact of this mobility on the village society and economy, particularly in the sustainability of livelihoods in recent times is described in this paper.

Mobility and Sustainability of Livelihoods – The Wider Context

Mobility is a common feature in the human history. Technological breakthrough and industrialisation in Europe and opening of vast land in new continents led to the mass migration, both long-term and short-term, of what is generally called as 'guest workers'. Even today, movement of people from poorer areas to industrial areas is commonly taking place. However, there have been shifts in the destinations and origins of the migrant labourers mainly because of the changes in the economy of countries. In the past 'guest workers' were common in Europe (like Indians, Pakistanis migrating to Britain, Indonesians to the Netherlands, Turkish to Germany, Vietnamese to France and the like), but now they also go to Japan, Australia and New

Zealand (mainly from Pacific countries) and to Newly Industrialised Countries (like Malaysia, Singapore and South Korea) and Gulf countries. At present a large number of foreign labour migrants from South Asia and some countries of South East Asia (like Thailand and Philippines) tend to work in the last two categories of the countries.

Even though labour migration and the remittances income are common in these developing or newly industrialising countries, their impacts vary. Controversy arises as to the net balance of income flow to rural communities (Byers 1979; Robinson 1986; Shrestha 1985; Stahl 1984). In some case study sites it has also been revealed that expenses required to go to foreign countries and frequent failures in getting job are greater than the remittances (Byers, 1979; Robinson, 1986). It is often claimed that remittances from migrants are used exclusively for supporting the consumption needs of recipients and are spent primarily on imported consumer goods (Miles et al. 1993; World Bank 1991). Some authors (Bertram and Watters, 1986) see an economy (like that of Pacific region) dependent in the long term in other areas for their remittances as unsustainable, because a render economy has no internal dynamics of its own and its sustainability depends on the existence of opportunities to remit savings.

Off-farm employment requiring change of residence of rural people, on a short-term or long-term basis, is often reported to cause shortage of skilled as well as unskilled labour. Its consequences, like disruptions in the capacity of rural communities, have been given emphasis by many authors (Adulavidhaya and Onchan 1985; Corner 1981; Maude 1981; Parnwell 1986; Shrestha 1985 and Smart 1986). Others are of the opinion that outmigration can lead to the introduction of new technology, because of new knowledge and cash income (Connell 1981; Gilani 1986; Grasmuck 1984; IDRC 1977). Outmigration is also considered an effort of rural households to spread family labour in different occupations and thus reduce the risk of failure in securing their survival (Stark, 1991). A recent study conducted in Tonga by Connell and Brown (1993) goes further : it demonstrates how remittances, mainly in kind, can help promote a thriving small business sector by reducing the monopoly of traditional large retailers. The authors claim that remittances can lead to structural changes at the receiving end.

This study conducted in 1989-90 in Lahachok-Riban village of Kaski district reveals that remittances had been beneficial in sustaining the livelihoods of the marginal farmers and landless labourers through the creation of land-renting and labour employment opportunities within the

villages. Farming was also not disrupted due to the absence of male labourers from outmigrant households because of the growing land renting practices. Unproductive and distant land was converted to plantation, thus playing a positive role in the conservation of resources. By 1994-95, opportunities to work in Gulf countries had expanded, especially for the marginal farmers in recent times, leading to a situation where labour shortages was now reported. Wage rates for the males had also increased rapidly. As a result, farmers reported of being discouraged in farming. This was particularly noticed in the villages of Prabat, Baglung and Myagdi districts in the early 2000.

Remittances have also led to some structural changes as they have also been invested in small and medium scale factories and businesses in urban centres creating employment opportunities. On the other hand land prices in such places have also soared rapidly.

Study of Lahachok-Riban Villages of Kaski District in 1989-90²:

In the early 1990s, the village and household economy in Lahachok-Riban and more widely in central Nepal, comprised two major inter-locking spheres: the village-farming system and off-farm work. The former did not involve much cash income, since most crops were grown for subsistence, but the latter involved cash. It is because of this interlocking that changes in off-farm employment has affected the farming system of those taking part in such employment as well as of those not taking part (or taking part to a lesser extent) in such employment.

Lahachok village was dominated by Brahmins and the Riban village by Gurungs. Members of the Occupational Caste were present in both villages. Average land holding of a household was 15 ropani (0.75 ha) and 80 % households were not self-sufficient in food production. The sample size for this study was 200 households (but one was dropped later on due to inaccurate information) - 62 Brahmin, 60 Gurung, 27 dalit and 37 Chettri households.

For the village as a whole outside earnings (off-farm income) contributed about 38 per cent to the total household income in 1988-89 and there was also a wide variation in its contribution to the household income of different ethnic groups. It contributed about 60 per cent to the total income of Gurungs, 25 per cent to the Brahmin households, 26 per cent to the Chettris and 9 per cent to the members of the dalit group. Earnings outside the country were the main source of off-farm income for Gurung, Chettri and

dalit households; while for Brahmin households off-farm employment within the country was the main source of all earnings beyond their own farming activities.

As there was variation between households and ethnic groups in their total earnings, the question arose as to whether that level of earnings was derived from a single source or from many sources. The household survey conducted in 1989-90 showed that each village household was dependent on many sources of income, but the particular sources varied in importance between ethnic groups. But they were grouped for convenience into three categories : off-farm income, farm income and wage employment within the village.

Twenty-four Gurung households (40 per cent) derived more than 75 per cent of their total income from 'off-farm earnings', mostly pensions and remittances. Except for 10 households (approx. 17 per cent), all Gurung households were found to derive direct benefit from 'outside employment', which was highly remunerative in comparison to farming. For them off-farm earnings' were the main source of income, with farming of secondary importance. All except one Gurung households derived income from farming, but only 23 per cent of households derived more than half their income from this sector. Gurung households, on the other hand, seldom derived income from wage labour within the village, as evidenced by the fact that only one-quarter derived any income from this source, up to a maximum of 5 per cent of household income. In fact, access of most of the Gurung households to 'outside earnings' appeared to have caused them to reduce their dependence on other sources of income, like farming and village wage labour.

In contrast to the Gurung group, it was the farm sector, which contributed most to the total income of Brahmin households. But for them off-farm employment was the next important source of income. Slightly less than half the Brahmin households derived any income from off-farm sources, but 24 households were mostly strongly oriented towards this source of income. It contributed more than half their total income for only 13 (21 per cent) households. Even though 12 of the 62 Brahmin families derived some income from wage labour within the village, it was the most important source for only one household.

Like Brahmin households, most of the Chettri households also derived proportionately much more of their income from the farm sector. Although their number was smaller (40 households), 80 per cent (32) derived more than half their income from farm production. Despite the fact that proportionately more Chettri households were involved in off-farm activities than other ethnic

groups, only two of them derived as much as half their income from this source. About 45 per cent of the 40 Chettri households derived part of their income from village wage labour, but it was the main source of income for only two households.

Labouring jobs within the village was the main source of income of dalit households. It contributed to about 48 per cent to their household income. Members of the dalit groups were also employed in off-farm work outside the village, but the remuneration was much lower, often lower than in farm wage employment. As a result they tended to stay in the villages as they were not able to find remunerative off-farm work because of lack of education and social network. Even the opportunities for wage employment within the village was created, as discussed later, due to the impact of high off-farm income earned by Gurung households.

'Outside earnings' was the main source of cash income in the village, which played an important role in the village life, as it was needed to buy the goods and services not produced locally. About 75 per cent of the cash income in the village was derived from outside source. Except for the Occupational Caste (dalit) households which derived most of their cash income from wage labour in the village, households of other ethnic groups derived most of their cash income from 'outside earnings'. On average, Gurungs as compared to members of other ethnic groups derived more of their household income in cash. In contrast, Brahmin families, more than other ethnic groups, derived on average much more of their cash income from the farm sector. In the early 1990s only 16 per cent of the total cash income of the two study villages came from the farming, the rest (84 per cent) came from 'outside earnings'.

Pension (Indian Army and British Army) and remittance sent by individuals then working in the Indian army contributed most to village off-farm earnings, including of course a large part received by Gurung households. Government jobs within the country were the next most important source of off-farm earning, a large part being received by Brahmin households. Occupational Caste (dalit) households with substantial outside earning derived a large part of their income from civil (manual) work in India (Table 1).

Table 1: Lahachok-Riban Study Area: Average Household Income (Rs.) from Outside Source in 1988/89.

Source	Brahmin	Gurung	Chettri	Occup. Caste	All Household
Govt. job/Nepal	3,429	990	1,277	-	1,623
Indian Army	290	4,980	700	190	1,768
British Army	-	1,973	-	-	595
Pension	-	1,973	-	-	1,825
Civil work/India	1,258	723	862	832	938
Other remittance	58	-	-	94	36
Others	-	160	-	16	51
Total	5,035	13,626	4,719	1,132	6,836

Source Household survey data 1989/90

A Study of Lahachok-Riban in 1994

When the study area was revisited in 1994, it was observed that people were diversifying their migration destination. New places villagers went to work included Gulf countries, South Korea, Taiwan, Malaysia and Japan. Among these countries, more jobs were taken in Gulf countries, particularly by the members of Occupational Caste and Brahmins and Chettris. Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and Malaysia were taken mostly by Gurungs through the connections to the people already migrated there and following the channels they advised. Hundi was primarily used to remit money by the people undertaking these new-found foreign labour opportunities.

A Recent Study in Lahachok in 1999

A study was also conducted in 1999 to study the migration patterns in new destinations. Accordingly Lahachok village was studied as it had relatively less number of people working in the army. For this study the wealth ranks of all the village households were determined by the participatory method. Their migration pattern was studied. All households of the village (630) were grouped into 10 groups, each containing 10 % of the households in ascending order of wealth rank. Group A consisted the poorest 10 % households, and the last group (Group J) consisted the wealthiest 10 % households.

As can be seen in Table 2, in total, 281 households (348 people from them) from 630 households had one or more members in off-farm jobs.

Accordingly, 45 per cent households had members in off-farm jobs. Only 11 households had members in both foreign and domestic jobs. This figure did not include seasonal migration, whereas in practice many households were reported to go for off-farm work in Pokhara and in development project sites. Considering the seasonal migration of about 250 (considering the lower limit of the range given by 'key informants' and one individual from one house) 85 per cent of the households derived off-farm income. In other words, 16 per cent of the population were then involved in temporary or seasonal migration.

Table 2: Class and Employment in Foreign Lands and Within the Country (Number of Households, Number of People) in Lahachok VDC 1999

Class	Household population	Employ. in Households	Foreign lands People	Employ. in Households	Own country People	Total Households	People
Class A	63 (10.0)	-	-	1 (0.8)	1 (0.6)	1(A)	1 (0.3)
Class B	63 (10.0)	4(2.7)	5(2.7)	4 (3.1)	4 (2.5)	8 (2.8)	9 (2.9)
Class C	63 (10.0)	5 (3.3)	5 (2.7)	6 (4.6)	9 (5.5)	12 (4.3)	14 (4.0)
Class D	63 (10.0)	14 (9.3)	14 (7.5)	9 (6.9)	9 (5.5)	23 (8.2)	24 (6.9)
Class E	63 (10.0)	17 (11.3)	19 (10.2)	6 (4.6)	6 (3.7)	23 (8.2)	25 (7.2)
Class F	63 (10.0)	22 (14.7)	28 (15.1)	10 (7.6)	14 (8.6)	32 (11.4)	42 (12.0)
Class G	63 (10.0)	23 (15.3)	27 (14.5)	23 (17.5)	26 (16.0)	46 (16.4)	53 (15.2)
Class H	63 (10.0)	18 (12.0)	21 (11.3)	24 (18.3)	26 (16.0)	42 (14.9)	50 (14.4)
Class I	63 (10.0)	22 (14.7)	31 (16.7)	17 (13.0)	23 (14.2)	39 (13.9)	54 (15.5)
Class J	63 (10.0)	25 (16.7)	36 (19.4)	30 (22.9)	40 (24.7)	55 (19.6)	76 (21.8)
Total	630 (100.0)	150 (100.0)	186 (100.0)	131 (100.0)	162 (100.0)	281 (100.0)	348 (100.0)

(Figures in brackets are percentages)

Table 2 also reveals that the distribution of off-farm jobs is very much skewed in favour of the wealthier class. There was only one household (from the poorest 10 per cent households) which had access to off-farm job. Considering the poorest 20 per cent households in the village, only 7.9 per cent had off-farm jobs. Whereas this figure from the richest group (top 10 per cent household in the wealth scale) was 87 per cent. In other words, 55 of the 63 households had access to such job. Similarly proportionately more members per household (from this richest group) were involved in off farm work. Even though a clear trend of increase in number of households participating in off farm jobs with the increase in wealth rank was not visible, proportionately more households from wealthier classes were involved in such jobs.

In total of 630 households of the village, 150 households had members working in foreign countries. These households had sent in total 186 members. A few households were found to send 2 to 3 members, but a large majority of households had only one member in foreign employment. With each class having same number of households (63), there was consistent increase in the number of households sending member(s) to foreign employment. The only exception in this trend was class H (upper middle class), where there is a slight drop in the number of households involved in foreign employment. In the poorest class, there was no household involved in foreign employment. Second poorest group comprising 10 per cent of the households accounted for only 2.7 per cent of the people involved in foreign job. Whereas the richest class, also comprising 10 per cent of the households, accounted for 19.4 per cent of the people involved in foreign job.

Regarding employment within the country, the same trend (as with employment in foreign countries) was observed. The domestic jobs seemed even more unequally distributed in favour of richer classes than the foreign jobs.

It is seen that an overwhelming proportion of households or people are involved in employment in India. About 75 per cent of households involved in foreign employment had member(s) in India. About 77 per cent of total people of the village involved in foreign employment were found to land in India. The second important country was Qatar, which accounted for 12 per cent of the people involved in foreign employment. The third important country was Saudi Arabia, with about 7 per cent of the people involved in foreign employment. Other countries where people had gone for work

included Hongkong, Oman and UK, but their importance in terms of number of people was insignificant.

Table 3: Caste and Employment in Foreign Lands and Within the Country (Number of Households, Number of people) in Lahachok VDC 1999

Caste	Household popula-tion	Employ. in House-holds	Foreign lands People	Employ. in House-holds	own country People	Total House-holds	People
Brahmin	280 (44.4)	46 (30.7)	53 (28.5)	74 (56.5)	95 (58.6)	120 (42.7)	148 (42.5)
Chettri	129 (20.5)	35 (23.3)	45 (24.2)	38 (29.0)	46 (28.4)	73 (26.0)	91 (26.10)
Dames	77 (12.2)	3 (2.0)	3 (1.6)	1 (0.8)	6 (3.7)	4 (1.4)	4 (1.1)
Sun	34 (5.4)	18 (12.0)	27 (14.5)	18 (6.4)	27 (7.8)		
Sarki	30 (4.8)	24 (16.0)	29 (14.5)	6 (4.6)	6 (3.7)	30 (1.7)	35 (10.1)
Mama	26 (4.1)	3 (2.0)	3 (1.6)	1 (0.8)	2 (1.2)	4 (1.4)	5 (1.4)
Magar	18 (2.9)	7 (4.7)	8 (4.3)	6 (4.6)	7 (4.3)	13 (4.6)	15 (4.3)
Gurung	16 (2.5)	7 (4.7)	10 (5.4)	2 (1.5)	2 (1.2)	9 (3.2)	12 (3.4)
Newer	11 (1.7)	2 (1.3)	3 (1.6)	3 (23)	3 (1.8)	5 (1.8)	5 (1.8)
Tamang	9 (1.4)	5 (3.3)	5 (2.7)	-	-	5 (1.7)	5 (1.4)
Total	630 (100.0)	150 (100.0)	186 (100.0)	131 (100.0)	162 (100.0)	281 (100.0)	348 (122.0)

(Figures in brackets are percentages)

Considering the involvement of households in all jobs (both in foreign countries and in Nepal), Sarki households had taken up proportionately more jobs (than their share in population).

Other groups which had taken up more jobs than their share in population included Sunwar, Gurung, Magar and Tamang. Brahmin households were found to take jobs more or less in proportion to their share in population. The most discriminated group was found to be the Damai, followed by Kami.

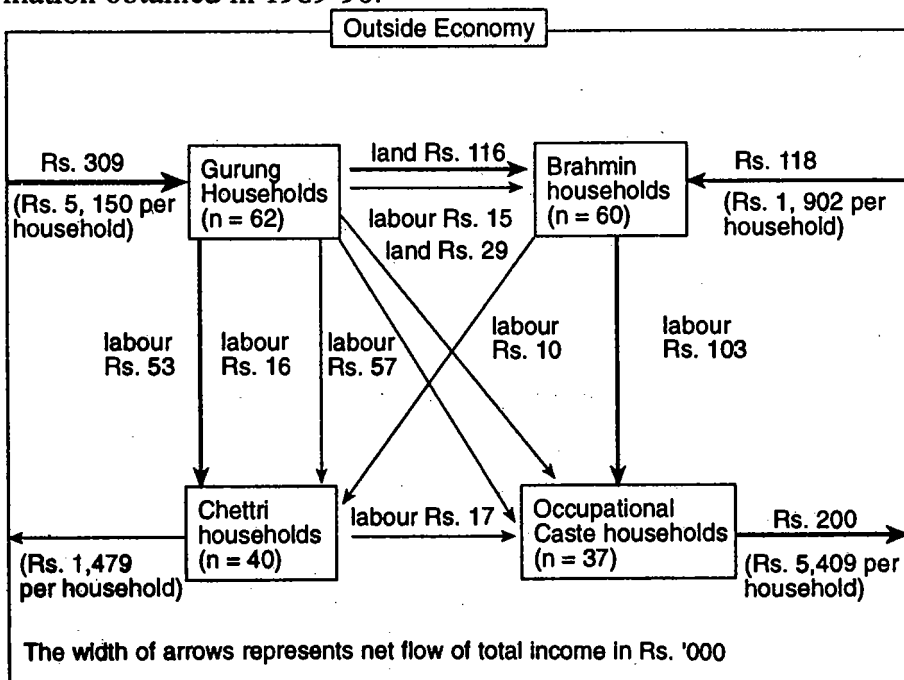
The distribution of jobs in foreign countries and in Nepal shows a different pattern. As is seen in Table 3, even though a large proportion of foreign jobs were taken by Brahmins, it was comparatively less than their proportion in the population. Ethnic groups who took proportionately more foreign jobs (in comparison to their share in population) included Sarki, Sunwar, Gurung, Magar and Chettri. It is surprising to note that members of lower castes had taken more foreign jobs. This was due to the lack of education. As domestic jobs (generally available in civil service and schools) required education, member of low caste showed a tendency to go to overseas countries for manual work. But these members of low caste belonged to somewhat higher economic classes. They were found to occupy lower middle class position as they belonged to class D and above (i.e., above 40 point in the wealth range of 0 - 100). This much of wealth made them able to pay the advanced money and take risks associated with foreign employment. Regarding domestic jobs, we see that Brahmin households (followed by Chettri households) had taken more jobs than their share in the population.

Visit to Villages in Parbat, Baglung and Myagdi Districts in early 2000

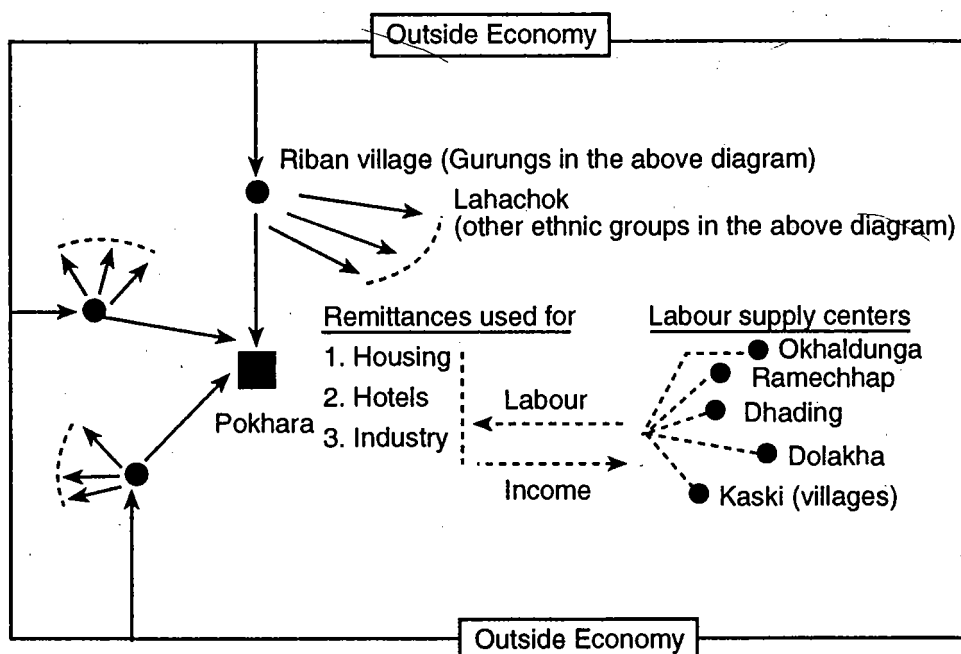
In the course of visiting villages in these districts, it was observed that outmigration is now taking place to such an extent that villagers have felt the scarcity of male labour to perform some of the male-specific farm work like ploughing and digging. In one village Kaiya (Parbat district), the wage rate of male was as high as Rs. 200 per day plus three meals, whereas that of female labour was Rs. 65 only. Even those males who remain in the village tend to be engaged in work available in the town. This was felt as hampering the production of cash crops like growing of vegetables for seeds or for sale. In villages of Maygdi, labour outmigration was considerably high. It was observed that outmigration was more pronounced in Maygdi district in comparison to Kaski district. All households earning remittances were reported to have invested their savings in land and housing in Kusma, Baglung and Beni, the growing urban centers. The price of land in these centres was reported to have exceptionally high, higher than in Pokhara town. It should also be considered that outmigration rate in Parbat district is higher: higher by 4.5 times than in Lahachok-Riban village (discussed later). Baglung and Maygdi are also the districts experiencing outmigration at par with Parbat district.

Inter-village and Rural-urban Transfer of Funds Generated from Remittances and Sustainability of Livelihoods:

One major impact of the remittances is that it has created wage labour and land-renting opportunities in the villages. The wage labour opportunities were taken by landless and marginal farm households not able to earn a significant proportion of income from outside sources. Landrenting opportunities also provided a scope to enlarge the scale of operation for those engaged in farming. As a result, more labourers were demanded in the villages. Moreover, it is seen that high remittance earning households have started investing their savings in the town. This was a change noticed in the 1980s, whereas in the past those having savings generated from outside work invested in *khet* land and housing. The establishments of small businesses and factories in urban centres also increased because of investments of savings by remittances-receiving households (mainly Gurungs). This caused a rapid increase in the price of land in Pokhara. At present savings have been invested in tourist industry, confectionery, housing, transportation and instant-noodle factories. Expansion of businesses, housing and industries has attracted labourers in urban centres from places where employment opportunities are less remunerative and also scarce. This has led to a transfer of 'outside earnings' within the villages and from rural areas to urban centres. This is schematically depicted in the following figure and is based on information obtained in 1989-90.



The process of transfer of 'outside earnings' within the village has helped in the sustenance of livelihoods of people, mainly of the members of the Occupational Caste and marginal farmers. In recent times, particularly in the 1990s, migration to urban centres of households earning higher level of remittances is increasing at a faster rate. Investment of 'savings' is mainly done in the urban centres. The housing expansion in urban centres is very rapid. This recent phenomenon of rural-urban flight of manpower and money and its impacts are shown schematically in the following figure.



The question arises as to whether the situation of economic interdependence outlined above is a general phenomenon with a wider geographical coverage. The circulation of cash income and exchange of resources between households of different ethnic groups has been a feature in most villages of the middle hills region of Nepal, especially since the late 1970s when the opportunity to migrate to the Terai almost ceased. Even though the ethnic groups involved in 'outside earnings' differ from one region or village to another, the distribution of this income has been allowing the continued existence of landless or near-landless wage labourers, and of small farmers, in villages of the middle hills. Ethnic diversity as it exists in the Lahachok-Ribban villages is a feature in all villages of the Mardi-Seti valleys in Kaski District. Similar diversity also exists in many villages of Kaski and Lamjung Districts, with Gurungs being the main earners of the 'outside

income'. In villages of other Districts of central Nepal, notably Syanja, Palpa, Gorkha and Baglung, it is Magars and to a lesser extent Gurungs who are the main source of 'outside earnings'.

The widespread significance for the sustainability of rural livelihoods in the hill regions of Nepal of off-farm income derived from employment abroad (and, for specific social groups, of income from British or Indian army service) was also emphasised in a major study of the political economy of agrarian change in Nepal in the mid 1970s: "most of those who do not work in agriculture... leave Nepal for India to work in civil, or if possible, army employment. For certain ethnic groups (e.g. Gurung, Magar, Rai and Limbu), recruitment to the British Gurkhas is possible, and such employment is much sought after for both status and financial reasons, even by relatively prosperous individuals. Such 'outside' employment allows the continued residence of a very substantial number of households in the rural areas whose farm incomes alone have long since become incapable of supporting them" (Blaikie, Cameron & Seddon 1980: 49). Anthropological studies conducted in the central Nepal in the 1960s and 1970s also emphasised the fact that 'outside earnings' is the main basis for the sustenance of living standard in the hills (Pignede 1966, 1993; Hitchcock 1966; Macfarlane 1976).

A study of Mohoria village as early as 1958 by Pignede (1966; 1993) revealed that as much as 62 per cent of the most active (19-45 years age) men were absent from the village. 53 percent of the active men worked in the foreign armies and 9 per cent in civil service. About 12 per cent active women of the village accompanied their husbands moving away from the village. This essentially means that a large part of the village labour was absent. He writes. "British and Indian recruitment was heavily felt in Gurung country. The handful of young men who live in Mohoriya is almost exclusively composed of those suffering from tuberculosis, the lame, those with rickets and other abnormalities" (Pignede 1993:23). He indicates that farming was carried out employing wage labourers, mainly from the dalit (Occupational Caste) groups, and by women, children and old people. He writes "The village community has been forced to transform itself to lessen a (demographic) disequilibrium which was tending to make the exploitation of the village lands impossible. The age group of workers has widened. Children and old men actively participate in the domestic work and agriculture. The women spend more time in the fields than formerly. The (Gurungs) villagers have been forced to use non-Gurung labourers. These workers belong to the

untouchable caste of Blacksmiths, Tailors, Cobbolers, etc. The untouchables can supply the male man-power needed because they are not mercenaries. Thus the untouchables are more indispensable than formerly" (Pigenede, 1993: 41). He also argues that bargaining power of these labourers has increased and thus demanded more grains or cash. Despite the difficulty in carrying out farming, Gurungs were interested in continuing the family farming because they intended to come back and continue the same life. Until in the 1960s Gurungs went to the foreign land with the aim of returning to the village, but to make life easier in the village with the pension and other earnings. This is also argued by the Mary des Chene (1992). She considers Gurungs involvement in foreign job (armies) as a 'brief sojourn' or a 'hiatus' in the life, as the income of this period is just used for their life in the village which they value most. Accordingly, at that time Gurungs continued with the farming, and even invested their savings on land and house within the village. But it is mainly in the 1980s that Gurungs started to move away from the village in the quest of new life in urban places, and 'outside earnings' helped them in this pursuit. Thus the major impact of the remittances in the rural social and economic structure is seen in the 1980s and 1990s.

A study conducted in 1969 in Thak (Gurung village in Kaski district) by Macfarlane (1976: 156) reveals that 27 % of the village income was derived from remittances and pension, 50 % from crop production and 15% from livestock production. But army pension and remittances accounted for 80 % of the cash income with the sale of the locally produced goods accounting for only 12 %. He estimates that "of a total of 294 production units in the village, the 43 units away from the village earn approx. one quarter of the total income" (1976: 156). This means that 'foreign labour migration' which accounted 15 % of the manpower contributed approx. 25 % of the village income. This tells that foreign labour migration is more remunerative than the local production. Macfarlane's also suggests that remittances and pensions has helped in lessening the economic disparity in the village as he writes "it was the 'medium-poor', predominately the *sorajat* Gurung households with insufficient lands on which to live in the village who had most access to army funds, and that the flow of cash from outside help(ed) to balance them against the wealthier households which (had) less incentive to send their sons away from the village" (Macfarlane 1976: 160). He further noted that "families with little land may still be prosperous if they have a son in the army" (1976: 160).

Even though Macfarlane and Pignede exclusively deal with Gurung villages with a few dalit households, they still demonstrate occurrence of some distribution of 'outside earnings' within the village, especially through the labour. Macfarlane is more explicit in expressing this distribution as he notes "the wealth that flows in through the 54 households (in his sample of 100 households) with outside connections is distributed along various channels throughout the community, benefiting Tailors and Blacksmiths as well as the recipient Gurung households (1976: 162)... certainly the wealth that flows in from abroad reaches certain households first - those with pensions or men in the army, but also may spread outwards to affect other households not themselves directly involved in foreign labour migration (1976: 189)". The 'various channels' that Macfarlane mentioned certainly consisted mainly of labour, as was the case in Mohoriya. In Lahachok-Riban study area (as discussed above), the same was also true. Until that time, Gurungs had continued to maintain their interest in farming. But as Gurungs started giving less priority to agriculture since the 1970s, land was increasingly rented out. Therefore land also featured as the principle channel of distribution of 'outside earnings' in the model discussed above. The land-renting practices have further increased the demand for labour, thus increasing the wage labour employment opportunities within the village.

Apart from Gurungs, Magars are also the people traditionally benefiting from the remittances and pensions, mainly from army service. A study conducted in the early 1960s by Hitchcock reveals that income associated with armies was the main basis to cope with the increased monetisation and to improve economic status. He points out "in recent years, there has been an increased monetisation in Banyan Hill (south of Pokhara) and increase in trade items available in nearby regions. The primary sources of cash are soldier's salaries, pensions and interest from money lending. In two generations, the number of soldiers and pensioners in the *thum* (an local unit of revenue administration which consisted a few neighbouring hamlets) has more than tripled" (Hitchcock, 1966: 104). He further notes that those households connected with British army were successful in improving the economic status and those households not having member(s) in the army were desperate in coping with the increased cash requirements. Study of Gurung and Magar communities in Syanja and Gulmi districts, respectively, by Kansakar also reveal that pensioner households had higher income (by slightly less than 50 %) as compared to non-pensioner households (Kansakar 1982: 63). In these figures, Kanakar did not include the income received during the service in the

army considering that income, pensioner households would be far ahead in the economic status. He noted the scarcity of labour caused by outmigration of Gurungs and the practice of using low caste households for the farm work. He mentions that Panchamul village in Syanjya district was the original place proposed for the location of Lumle Agricultural Farm, but the Gurung there opposed the proposition saying that low caste people would find job in the Farm thereby adversely affecting their (Gurungs) own farming. This study also clearly indicates that remittances have helped in creating wage employment opportunities. In Bharse, the Magar village, Kansakar also shows that it is only the pensioner households, which invest 'current outside earnings' in different activities like trade, industry, farming and land purchase. On the other hand, non-pensioner households used the 'outside earnings' mainly for house construction and in meeting family expenditure. This indicates that pensioner households had already fulfilled their basic family requirements like housing and the main part of family expenditure, so that the current income was used for improving the asset position and in income-earning enterprises.

In some central hill districts, migration rates in recent times have been very high indeed. In Parbat district, for example, a study of 12 selected villages showed that on average 8.4 per cent of the total population (significantly higher than 4.5 per cent of the Lahachok village; Prabat's outmigration rate for foreign employment is about 8 times higher than that of the nation) was involved in foreign labour migration, with some VDCs having even higher rates -between 14 per cent and 15 per cent in two cases (Bhusal 1997). Foreign labour migrants constituted about two-thirds of all migrants from these villages; and the total rate of migration (including temporary and seasonal migration) was even higher, with an average of 11.7 per cent of the total population involved.

The importance of off-farm income as a necessary supplement to farm income for those with limited land is also underlined by a study (Basnet 1996) of Shishuwa Adarsha VDC (also in Kaski District), which indicated that the households involved in foreign labour migration tended to have less agricultural land and to be less food self-sufficient than those not so involved (producing 2.35 *muri*³ of foodgrain per capita a year as compared with 3.91 *muri* a year). In Shishuwa, the income from employment abroad was spent for the most part on immediate 'food and family requirements' (55 per cent) and debt repayment (12 per cent), while housing, land purchase, bank savings, education, marriage and business accounted for the rest (33 per cent).

Two thirds of the income from remittances contributed, it seems, to current expenditure, and a third to what might be termed social investment.

Conclusion

Remittances, particularly from foreign labour migration, is a common feature in hill districts, even though there is interdistrict and intra-district, inter-village and intra-village (within a district) variations in the extent of 'outside earnings'. From this study, it appears that in recent times off-farm employment is generally common among the top 50 % households with the affluent households as likely to work within Nepal as in foreign countries. Employment abroad (India and overseas) is more common among 'lower-middle' class. Most disadvantaged households were least likely to get jobs in Nepal as well as in foreign countries. Even though new job opportunities in Gulf countries are not restrictive based on caste and ethnic groups, households belonging mainly to 'middle class' and 'lower-middle class' are able to gain access because of high city cost associated with the job. Most disadvantaged households not having access to foreign labour as well as within country off-farm employment are getting benefits from the creation of wage labour opportunities in the villages (because of labour shortages caused by male-specific migration and ability of migrant household to pay the wages).

The major structural change that is seen in recent times, mainly due to the growing influence of remittances, is the increased rural to urban migration, where savings generated from remittances are invested in land, housing and businesses and industries. This has also led to the migration of poor and disadvantaged to urban centres for seeking employment opportunities. In areas with heavy migration, labour shortage is beginning to put limit on agricultural production. On the other hand, urban centres have also witnessed haphazard developments in housing and infrastructures and in land speculation. As a result, proper environment for the productive utilisation of remittances income is lacking which might put limits to the multiplier effects that could be generated from the structural changes resulted from the impacts of remittances.

Notes

1. This is a paper presented at a conference on "Physical Mobility and Development in the Mountains" which was organized by Central Department of Geography, Tribhuvan University, Nepal and School of

Development Studies, University of East Anglia, UK. The conference was held at Kathmandu on March 15-17, 2000.

2. This section is based largely on the earlier study conducted by one of the authors. See *The Beginnings of Agrarian Change: A Case Study in Central Nepal* for detail.
3. Muri is a volumetric measure. 1 muri paddy = 52.5 kg, 1 muri millet = 63.3 kg, 1 muri maize = 72.7 kg, 1 muri wheat = 63.2 kg.

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RESEARCH NOTE

THE MORPHOLOGY OF THE MAITHILI CONJUNCTIVE PARTICIPLE-Kə

Ramawatar Yadav

<i>i</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>batāha</i>	<i>kavi</i>	<i>-bhāṅga</i>	<i>pībi</i>	<i>svāgata</i>
this	who	crazy	poet	hemp	drink -CP	welcome
<i>basanta</i>	<i>achi</i>	<i>gābi</i>	<i>rahala?</i>	Kāñcinātha Jhā 'Kiraṇa'		
spring	AUX	sing	IMPERF ASP			

'Who is this crazy poet singing 'welcome to spring' having drunk hemp?

Introduction

This conjunctive participle is one of the characteristic devices for linking sequences of clauses to the host clause in Maithili.

The conjunctive participle in Maithili is marked by the affix *-kə* (also by an allomorph *-kəe* depending on idiolectal stylistic predilections and written in Devanagari variously as <ka>, <kae>, and <kaya>) which is attached to a tenseless verb of a nonfinite clause in a sentence. The following examples illustrate it.

1. *hin-ka* *kətha-kē* *kəne* *bekcha-kə* *dekh-ə* / *ja-e*
he-Hon-GENIT story-ACC/DAT a little elaborate-CP see-PSTPCPL go-OPT

'Let his story be viewed in a little more detail / Let's look at his story a little more elaborately.'

2. *bap dekh-l-ðk je chṛa dhaḍphḍra-kḍ uth-ḍ /*
 father see-PST-3Nonhon+3Nonhon REL boy hurry-CP Aarise-PST-3Nonhon
 'The father saw that the son arose hurriedly.'

Sentence (1) is a complex sentence the matrix of which consists of a finite verb *dekh-ḍ/je-e* which in effect is a complex predicate composed of the polar verb stem *dekh-* and the vector verb stem *ja-* to which person, tense, aspect, and mood desinences are compositely attached, while the embedded clause consists of a non-finite verb *bekchaeb* to the tenseless form of which is attached the conjunctive participle *-kḍ* upon deletion of the infinitive marker *-eb* (e.g. *bekchaeb* → *bekchaḥ* → *bekcha-kḍ*). Similarly, sentence (2) is also a complex sentence the matrix of which consists of a finite verb *uth-ḍ /* which is composed of the stem *uth* plus the person, tense, aspect, and mood desinences, while the embedded clause consists of a non-finite verb *dhḍphḍraeb* to the tenseless form of which is attached the conjunctive participle *-kḍ* upon deletion of the infinitive marker *-eb* (e.g. *dhḍphḍraeb* → *dhḍphḍraḥ* → *dhḍphḍra-kḍ*).

A number of other *-kḍ* forms also coexist in Maithili, e.g.

3. *rait-kḍ nḍi a-u*
 night-PP not come-IMP-2 Hon
 'Don't come at night'

In sentence (3) *-kḍ* acts as a post position denoting time.

When the verb stem *kḍ r* (of the infinitive *kḍ rḍ b* 'to do') is combined with such action verbs as *leb* 'to take', *deb* 'to give', *aeb/æb* 'to come', *jaeb/jæb* 'to go' to form compound verb expressions in Maithili then the stem final *-r* is deleted and the resultant complex predicates are as follows: *kḍ le-l-ðk* (**kḍr le-l-ðk*), *kḍ de-l-k-ḍ inh* (**kḍr dē-l-k-ḍ inh*). The following examples are illustrative:

4. *u bhojḍn kḍ le-l-ðk*
 he-Non hon meal do take-PST-3 Non hon
 'He already ate.'
5. *tō kaj kḍ de-l-ḍ*
 You- Non hon work do come-PST-2 Non hon
 'You already finished the work.'

6. *o* *hun-k-ər* *kaj* *kə* *de-l-k-ə inh*
 he-Hon he-Hon-GENIT work do give-PST-3Hon+3Hon
 ‘He already finished his job.’

A few Maithili idiomatic expressions (generally borrowed from Hindi) also contain *-kə* forms, e.g.

7. *o* *hath dho-kə* *ok-ra* *pachā pəir* *ge-l-ah*
 he-Hon hand wash-CP he-Non-hon-ACC/DAT behind lie go-PST-3Hon
 ‘He followed him steadfastly.’

Please note that sentence (7) does not ever mean that ‘he first washed his hands and then followed him.’

Finally, a few Maithili adverbial expressions also contain *-kə* forms attached to them, e.g.

- 8 *biśes-kə* ‘Specifically’
 9 *khas-kə* ‘Specially’

Since the *-kə* forms illustrated in sentences (3-9) are not germane to the main argument of this paper, these will not be discussed here. The main purpose of the paper is to describe the morphological properties of the conjunctive participle *-kə* which is attached to a tenseless verb of an embedded clause in Maithili.

Morphology

-kə is a non-neutral affix in that it tends to trigger changes in the shape of the verbal base to which it is attached. The exact nature of the verb stem alternation depends on the phonotactic structure of the verb, i.e., on whether the verb stem ends in an open or closed syllable or whether it contains a diphthong or not. Thus, to begin with, in a consonant-ending verb stem, *-i* is inserted at stem-end. In pronunciation the inserted *-i* is metathesized to a position prior to the final consonant, resulting thereby in profuse diphthongization in Maithili. In spelling, however, *-i* is retained at stem-end. In those sociolects in which the pronunciation and the spelling equate, metathesis does not occur – resulting thereby in an increase of the number of syllables. The following examples illustrate it.

10. /uṭh+kḍ	→uṭhikḍ/	→[uiṭhkḍ/*uṭhkḍ]	<uṭhika>	having arisen'
11. /an+kḍ	→anikḍ/	→[ainkḍ/*ankḍ]	<ānika>	'having brought'
12. /bujh+kḍ	→bujhikḍ/	→[buijhkḍ/*bujhkḍ]	<bujhika>	'having understood'
13. /ḍub+kḍ	→ḍubikḍ/	→[ḍuibkḍ/*ḍubkḍ]	<ḍubika>	'having drowned'
14. /baj+kḍ	→bjikḍ/	→[baijkḍ/*bajkḍ]	<bājika>	having spoken'
15. /kaṭ+kḍ	→kaṭikḍ/	→[kaiṭkḍ/*kaṭkḍ]	<kāṭika>	'having cut'
16. /kḍh+kḍ	→kḍhikḍ/	→[kḍihkḍ/*kḍhkaḍ]	<kahika>	'having said'
17. /hḍs+kḍ	→hḍsikḍ/	→[hḍiskḍ/*hḍska]	<hāsika>	'having laughed'
18. /cḍr+kḍ	→cḍrikḍ/	→[cḍirkḍ/*cḍrkḍ]	<carika>	'having grazed'
19. /pḍkḍr+kḍ	→pḍkḍrikḍ/	→[pḍkḍirkḍ/*pḍkḍrkḍ]	<pakarika>	'having caught'
20. /hur+kḍ	→hurikḍ/	→[huirkḍ/*hurkḍ]	<hārika>	'having filled'

Note that if the consonant-ending verb stem contains -i, the insertion of -i rule applies but the inserted -i is never metathesized – apparently to preserve the canonical phonological pattern of Maithili by disallowing a vowel hiatus of -ii or an occurrence of three vowels in a row within a phonological word in Maithili, e.g.

21. /pis+kḍ	pisikḍ/	[piskḍ~pisikḍ/*piiskḍ]	<pisika>	'having gound'
22. /pḍis+kḍ	bḍisikḍ/	[bḍiskḍ~bḍisikḍ/*bḍiiskḍ]	<baisika>	having sat'
23. /ḍīṭh+kḍ	aīṭhikḍ/	[ḍīṭhkḍ~ḍīṭhkḍ/*ḍīṭhkḍ]	<aīṭhika>	'having twisted'
24. /pḍiskḍ	pḍisikḍ/	[pḍiskḍ~pḍisikḍ/*pḍiiskḍ]	<paisika>	'having entered'
25. /cir+kḍ	cirikḍ/	[cirkḍ~cirikḍ/*ciirkḍ]	<cīrika>	'having pierced'

Secondly, in a extremely small subset of recalcitrant monosyllabic verb stems ending in -r, the addition of the conjunctive participle -kḍ triggers the deletion of the final *r* and an optional insertion of *e* at stem-end in educated styles of Maithili, e.g.

26. /kḍ+kḍ	→kḍḥkḍ/	→[kḍkḍ~kḍekḍ/*kḍrkḍ]	<kaka/kaeka>	'having done'
27. /dhḍr+kḍ	→dhḍḥkḍ	→[dhḍkḍ~dhḍekḍ/*dhḍrkḍ]	<dhaka/dhaeka>	'having held'

It is worth noting here that in eastern dialects of Maithili, [kḍekḍ] and [dhḍekḍ] are also pronounced as [kækḍ] and [dhækḍ] respectively.

Thirdly, in a subset of verb stems ending in -a, upon addition of the conjunctive participle -kḍ, -b- is infixed prior to the insertion of -i. Alternatively, one might argue that *b* is inserted at stem-end, rendering the stem as consonant-final. The -i insertion then applies and the metathesis rule too applies as usual. The following examples exemplify it.

28. /la+kə/ → labikə/ → [laibkə/*labkə] <lābika> 'having brought'
 29. /a+kə/ → abikə/ → [aibkə/*abkə] <ābika> 'having come'
 30. /pa+kə/ → pabikə/ → [paibkə/*pabkə] <pābika> 'having got'

Fourthly, a few *-i* ending verb stems optionally undergo the *-b-* infixation rule prior to *-i* insertion, but block the metathesis to occur – apparently to disallow the hiatus of two high front vowels in Maithili. Thus, two sets of alternate verb forms coexist in Maithili, e.g.

31. /pi+kə/ → [pibikə~pikə/*piibkə~*piikə] <pībika~pīka> 'having drunk'
 32. /si+kə/ → [sibikə~sikə/*siibkə~*siikə] <sībika~sīka> 'having sewn'

Fifthly, a few *a* and *o* ending verb stems do not undergo *-b-* infixation. Naturally, in such cases the *-i* insertion rule does not apply. Optionally, *-e* may be inserted at stem-end, e.g.

33. /ja+kə/ → [jakə~jaekə/*jaikə] <jāka~jāeka> 'having gone'
 34. /kha+kə/ → [khakə~khaekə/*khailkə] <khāka~khāeka> 'having eaten'
 35. /cora+kə/ → [corakə~coraekə/*coraikə] <corāka~corāeka> 'having stolen'
 36. /dho+kə/ → [dhokə~dhoekə/*dhoikə] <dhoka~dhoeka> 'having washed'

Sixthly, the inchoative *-o* ending verb stem *ho* 'become' undergoes a suppletion upon addition of the conjunctive participle *-kə*, and an optional *e* is inserted at stem-end, e.g.

37. /ho+kə/ → [bhəkə~bhəkə] <bhak~bhaeka> 'having become'.

In some dialects, the stative *ho* 'be' does not undergo any change:

38. /ho+kə/ → [hokə] <hoka> 'having been'

Finally, a subset of Maithili verb stems ending in *e* undergo stem alternation upon addition of the conjunctive participle *-kə* as shown below:

39. e → φ
 φ → ə (e)
 Or, alternatively,
 e → ə (e)

Examples:

40. /le+kə → /fəkə → /əkə/ → [/əkə~/dekə/*lekə] <laka~laeka> 'having taken'

41. /de+kə → dəkə → dəkə/ → [dəkə~-ddekə/*dekə] <dak~daeka> 'having given'

Or,

42. /le+kə/ → [/əkə~/dekə] <laka~laeka> 'having taken'

43. /de+kə → [dəkə~-ddekə] <daka~daeka> 'having given'

Conclusion

Stem alternations in Maithili compound verb formations and conjunctive participle constructions are quite similar. For more information on Maithili compound verb constructions, the reader is referred to Yadav (1996:191-208). Also, -kə deletion, as evidenced in the quotation cited at the onset of this paper, is characteristic of educated/literary styles of Maithili. All this and the syntactic and semantic properties of the Maithili conjunctive participle constructions will be discussed elsewhere.

Abbreviations

//	Underlying Form
[]	Surface Form
<>	Written Form
*	Unacceptable form
Ø	Deletion
~	Alternate Form
→	Becomes
ACC/DAT	Accusative-Dative Case
AUX	Auxiliary Verb
CP	Conjunctive Participle
GENIT	Genitive Case
Hon	Honorific
IMP	Imperative Mood
IMPERF ASP	Imperfective Aspect
Non hon	Nonhonorific
OPT	Optative Mood
PP	Postposition
PST	Past Tense
PSTPCPL	Past Participle

REL	Relative Clause Marker
2	Second Person
3	Third Person

Reference

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RESEARCH NOTE

CALL ME UNCLE: AN OUTSIDER'S EXPERIENCE OF NEPALI KINSHIP

Mark Turin

Introduction

The kinship terminology of any language is a natural meeting point for the disciplines of anthropology and linguistics. The manner in which people construct and understand their relationships with others has a direct impact on the words they use to describe these relationships. In this short article, I will focus on the kinship system of Nepali and demonstrate its subtleties, especially in its application to non-Nepalis.

Nepali Kinship Terminology

A socio-linguistic characteristic of Nepali which greatly appeals to Western sensibilities is the widespread use of sibling kinship terms in interactions with people whom one has never met before. Many Nepali phrasebooks suggest addressing total strangers as *didī*, *bahinī*, *dāi* or *bhāi*.

Nepali kinship terms are usually closely linked to specific pronouns which in turn require specific verbal endings. In other words, when addressing one's own father or someone of that age, one should use the kinship term *buvā* and the pronoun *tapā'*. On the other hand, in a conversation with one's younger sister, one would use the term *bahinī* and most likely the personal pronoun *timī*. The table below is a provisional attempt at categorising these relationships.

kinship term:	pronoun:	verbal ending:
<i>buvā, āmā</i>	<i>tapā^ā, hajur</i>	- <i>nuhuncha</i> (indicative present)
<i>dāi, didī</i>		- <i>nuhos</i> (imperative)
<i>bhāi, bahinī</i>	<i>timī</i>	- <i>chau</i> (indicative present)
		- <i>au ~ -a</i> (imperative)
<i>bābu, nānī</i>	<i>timī</i>	- <i>chau</i> (indicative present)
		- <i>au ~ -a</i> (imperative)
		- <i>chas</i> (indicative present)
	<i>tā</i>	- <i>Ø</i> (imperative)

To elaborate on the deployment of these kinship terms in everyday interactions with people, I will invoke two classic social scenarios. First, a conversation in a bus, and second, my own experience of being a volunteer teacher in a government school.

The Bus

Around me I can hear people calling out *didī*, *bahinī*, *dāi*, *bhāi*, *nānī* and *bābu* to fellow passengers they have never met before. A boy selling boiled eggs is trying to persuade an older woman, whom he addresses as *didī*, that his eggs are indeed fresh. An older man, using the term *nānī*, tells a little girl to move over so that he can sit down. When someone finally addresses me, it is with the term *sar* 'Sir'. Then I demonstrate that I speak some Nepali and strike up a conversation with the family to my left, who happen to have a small child. Within a few minutes the father says to the child: *annikal-lā namaskār gara!* 'Sav hello to uncle!'.

So while other people are using sibling terms, or parent-child terms with a stranger's children (*nānī*, *bābu*), I am *annikal* 'uncle'. It took me some time to appreciate that calling me *annikal* is as much about respect as it is about creating social distance. In an environment where everyone invokes notional-sibling kinship with strangers, to be *annikal* rather than 'older brother' is as much a prestige position as it is a step removed.

There are three registers of standard (non-royal) speech in Nepali, each with an associated verbal ending and specific pronoun, in addition to one register with a pronoun but with no separate verbal ending. The three 'full' registers are: *tā*, *timī* and *tapā^ā*. What I call the 'half-register' is represented

by the form *hajur*, which functions as an honorific pronoun meaning 'Sir' or 'Madam', but takes the same verbal ending as the *tapā* pronominal form.

Generally speaking, an older man would use the term *bahinī* or *nānī* to address an unrelated young girl and most likely use the pronominal form *timī*, or perhaps even the more intimate *tā*. Likewise, a young man would address an older woman with the kinship term *āmā* or *didī* and use the *tapā*, and perhaps even the *hajur*, form of pronominal address. This is fairly self-explanatory for any native Nepali-speaker and for non-Nepalis comfortable with the language. The point I want to emphasise is that, generally speaking, on account of their inherent respect and age-relatedness, kinship terms are consistently associated with specific second person pronouns and their associated verbal endings. Yet foreigners who speak Nepali and have in some form entered the sphere of notional Nepali kinship test these rules in interesting ways.

Bideśī Anṅkal

I am often called *bhāi* or *bābu* by older men and women, especially in villages, yet they resolutely stick to the *tapā*, or even the *hajur*, form of pronominal address. If I ever try to do the same with younger male Nepali friends, I am immediately corrected: '*bhāi* is to be used with *timī*, and *dāi* with *tapā*'. Yet within minutes someone will use the term *bābu* to attract my attention, and then use the pronoun *tapā* when addressing me. How can this seeming inconsistency be explained?

In part at least, the answer is a tribute to the inherent flexibility of the apparently rigid Nepali kinship system. Calling a younger foreign man *dāi* to convey respect is more awkward from a Nepali language-internal point of view than it is to use an honorific, such as *tapā*, or its associated verbal endings. An example will serve to illustrate the point. A grandfather calls out to me: *bābu, basnuhos hajur, ciyā khānuhos*, 'little boy, please sit down (respectful) and drink some tea (respectful)'. The above sentence is entirely plausible. Respect is conveyed through the verbal ending *-nuhos* as well as through the choice of *hajur* as an honorific pronoun, and the use of the kinship term *bābu* conveys affection rather than disrespect. An inverted version of the above sentence, however, would be less common: *dāi, basa, ciyā khāu*, 'elder brother, sit down (informal) and drink some tea (informal)', since the kinship term *dāi* carries with it a certain degree of respect which one would expect to find mirrored by an appropriate verbal ending. I should point

out that register switching, as in the examples above, is a common feature of Nepali. Kinship terms of endearment, such as *bābu* with *nānī*, can be compatible with honorific second person pronouns and their associated verbal endings.

Let us now turn to the kinship terminology of English for a comparative perspective. While *uncle* signifies 'mother's brother', 'father's brother', 'mother's sister's husband' and 'father's sister's husband' in modern English, the kinship term also has a broader and more metaphorical meaning when applied to non-kin. To this day, young people in Britain may have 'uncles' and 'aunties' who are neither blood relations nor family by marriage. To the contrary, they are usually close friends of the child's parents who have thus assumed a notional kinship position as mother's or father's sibling. In Nepali, the loan-word *annīkal* is also used to mean close friends of one's parents, and (more commonly than in contemporary British English) strangers of a similar age to one's parents.

What remains to be explained for Nepali, however, is why the kinship terms used to refer to strangers are mostly loan words. The practice of having 'uncles' and 'aunts' was a noted feature of Anglo-Indian society in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and it is likely that Nepali took its lead from Indian English. That borrowed words should come from English is no great surprise, but why was there a need for borrowing in the first place?

My theory concerning the widespread use of borrowed kinship terminology in modern Nepali is that loaned kinship terms provide a context-free and socially-neutral way of addressing outsiders, thus filling a niche which is largely absent in Nepali. In conversations with strangers then, the English kinship terms *annīkal* and *ānnī* are the only terms which may logically be used. The explanation is as follows.

In the Nepali-language kinship sphere, there are many different classes of 'uncles' and 'aunts': those younger than the parent versus those older; those from the mother's side as opposed to those from the father's side; and those who are blood relations versus those who have married in. Unsurprisingly, there are also specific kinship terms for many of these different uncles and aunts. For the most part then, a *kākā* 'father's younger brother' is as far removed from a *māmā* 'mother's brother' as a *phupu* 'father's sister' is from a *maiyyu* 'mother's brother's wife'. All of the Nepali kinship terms, translated by 'uncle' and 'aunt' in English, have more specific meanings than just 'uncle' or 'aunt', and each term encodes a range of social and cultural obligations. Consequently, it would make little sense to address an unknown

foreign woman of about the age of one's father as *phupu* when there is no reason to trace her descent from one's father's family any more than there is to suggest that she is kin of one's mother. The term *phupu*, as we have noted, has a specific meaning, and this kinship role is most likely already occupied by a 'real' *phupu*. The role of *ānnī*, however, is flexible and not yet occupied by one's own kin. No wonder then that the kinship terms *annikal* and *āntī* are used with such frequency to apply to foreigners in Nepal: the terms are respectful but neutral, affectionate but empty of real kinship meaning and the responsibility that such a role entails. As a logical extension of this explanation, being 'promoted' from *annikal* to *kākā* or from *āntī* to *sānī-mā* implies that as a non-Nepali, one has been incorporated into a family's kin network. From then on, kinship will be specifically reckoned through one of the parents over and above the other.

The School

Ten years ago, when I volunteered as an assistant English teacher in a government school, neither the students nor the teachers could decide how best to address me. The word *sar* (< Sir) always seemed to be used in some form, and usually it followed my name, resulting in *māk sar*, but on occasion would precede it, thus *sar māk*. For reasons that remained unexplained, some teachers had decided that while Nepali staff should be called *sar* and *mis*, as a foreign teacher, I should be addressed as *mistar* (< Mr), resulting in *mistar māk* (< Mr Mark) or *māk mistar* (< Mark Mr). The latter form replaced *sar* with a different title of address, but at least retained Nepali word order. Other teachers found the lack of *sar* unacceptable, but agreed that non-Nepali men should be addressed as *mistar*, leading to such unwieldy concatenations as *mistar māk sar* (< Mr Mark Sir), and even on one occasion the highly-inflated *sar māk mistar* (< Sir Mark Mr). The pros and cons of the various possible forms of address generated quite some discussion in the village, and I was confused by the whole process and eager to find a solution acceptable to all. My status was rendered even more unclear by the conflicting facts of being younger than some of my students yet living in the house of an important family. Eventually, to my satisfaction and to the palpable relief of many of the villagers, I came to be addressed as *māk sar* in school and simply as *māk* outside.

The above example demonstrates the unclear role of non-Nepalis in the realm of Nepali forms of address. The 'not-quite-inside' but also 'not-quite-

outside' status of the school example, and the social angst and terminological confusion that ensued, underscore the importance of choosing the right form of address.

Borrowed Nepali kinship terms in other Himalayan languages

A further point should be made regarding the use of borrowed kinship terms: not all ethnic groups in Nepal use English loan words to address strangers. Many of the ethnic languages have retained their native lexical items for kinship relationships, some in full, others in part. When indigenous terms for social relationships are lacking or have been lost, then speakers of these minority languages may resort to using Nepali words to fill the same lexical and semantic vacuum as fluent Nepali speakers use English words to do. A case in point are the Thangmi-speaking populations of Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok. Thangmi (Nepali: *Thāmī*) is a Tibeto-Burman language which retains an almost complete set of indigenous lexical items to encode culturally-salient kinship relationships. On the rare occasion that loaned kinship terms are used, they are invariably taken from Nepali. The most common borrowings are *māmā* and *phupu*, both derived from Nepali, in which they mean 'mother's brother' and 'father's sister' respectively. However, as in the case of *annkal* and *āntī* above, the loan words *māmā* and *phupu* have been divorced from their original Nepali meanings and have a more general sense of 'trusted non-Thangmi man' and 'trusted non-Thangmi woman'. The status language is clearly not the same for every ethnolinguistic grouping, even within the nation state of Nepal. While urban Nepali-speakers borrow kinship terms from English, Thangmi-speaking villagers borrow similar words from Nepali, both groups of speakers adapt and reinterpret these loans to fit their own sociolinguistic context.

Conclusion

Professor Braj B. Kachru, the author of *The Indianization of English: The English Language in India*, suggests that "items operating in British English kinship terms may be used with extended meaning in IE [Indian English]; for instance, *mother* as a term of respect, *sister* of regard;...*bhai* (brother) is used for any male of equal age" (1983: 117). His statement may be broadened to encompass Nepali as well.

I would go further, however, to posit that borrowed English kinship terms are not so much used 'with extended meaning' in Nepali, but are rather

reworked and reinterpreted. While British English *auntie* and Nepali *āntī* may on the surface appear to have the same meaning, the motivations for their use are quite distinct. Traditional understanding of language encounters suggests that one language will borrow lexical or grammatical items from another for reasons of status. While there is no doubt that for many urban and educated Nepali-speakers, English is the dominant status language, I suggest that prestige alone is not enough to explain borrowings of kinship terminology from English. Rather, faced with a precise and elaborate system of native Nepali kinship terminology, Nepali-speakers conscript English terms to convey the very imprecision and vagueness which is so difficult to achieve in Nepali.

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RESEARCH NOTE

FUNCTIONAL BASE ANALYSIS OF TANSEN MUNICIPAL TOWN

Pashupati Nepal

Introduction

Municipal town or urban locality, according to the 1991 population census of Nepal (CBS 1994), is defined as town that contains inhabitants above 9,000¹. By defining it as incorporated town, it acquires a status of an independent administrative unit, and manages all its functions and development activities on its own through raising revenues from various sources, besides central government grant. Besides, municipal town is also a market centre as it performs three functions simultaneously, such as local exchange, internal trade and central place function.

Tansen was recognized as a municipal town in 1961. In 1991, Tansen, the only municipal town of Palpa district, had total inhabitants of 13, 599. This town population accounted for 6 percent of the district total population. Compared to 1981 census, the 1991 population size of the town had increased by less than 0.5 percent, the lowest annual urban growth rate among the municipal towns in the country². It is a district headquarters town as well. Being located on the hill slope, Tansen is an important hill town of the western region. From the very beginning, it has played a role of long distance trading activity the town is also delivering its own peculiar function to the inhabitants living in the surrounding region through a variety of activities it distinctively owns. By this identity, this town has a dominant role in its own geographic region. For this reason, the present study attempts to the functional base analysis of Tansen municipal town in terms of number, type and range of functional establishments. The characteristics of each functional unit are also discussed in this paper.

Geographical Setting of the Study Area

Tansen is located at the southern lap of the Mahabharat range in Palpa district, Lumbini Zone in the Western Development Region of Nepal. The beautiful hill Srinagar towers over Tansen. Though the town is situated on the southern slope of the Mahabharat Lekh, the area covered by Tansen is relatively flat and the slope is gentle. The town is located at an altitude of 4300 ft and the highest peak of the range in the area is 5000 ft. above sea level. The town has covered an area of 3979 hectares. It takes only about two hours by bus to reach the Terai region from Tansen. The climate of the place is moderate and pleasant. The summer temperature hardly exceeds 29°C and it does not fall below 7°C during winter on average. The annual rainfall of Tansen (1996) is 1634 mm. About 90 percent of the total rainfall occurs in summer season while remaining precipitation occurs in winter.

Data and Methods

Data Collection: A structured inventory observation sheet was used for gathering information about the number and type of functional establishments located within Tansen Municipal boundary. The sheet was used to record all functional establishment units.

For this survey, first of all an observational visit was done all around the municipal area and then a sketch map of the street layouts was drawn. Major function speciality areas such as vegetables, fruits, cinemas, bus stops, hotels and restaurants, etc. were plotted on the sketch map. Legends were given to each function supported by index if needed.

The recording of function establishment units was done on the functional inventory observation sheet. The functional units located along both sides of the main commercial thoroughfare and its adjacent streets were mainly considered for recording. The functional units located in the remote localities of the municipality in less than five numbers were omitted for recording. The enumeration was first performed at one of the street corners and then the other side was followed until the first started house reached without leaving a single house. The sketch map provided by the Tansen Municipality was also used to follow the routes. All temporary retail stalls or vending shops were also recorded. The houses used only for residential purposes were not recorded.

Methods of Analysis: This analysis is used to describe the number and type of functional establishments of Tansen town. The total number is

obtained by adding all functional units of the town. The functional establishments are divided into three major groups: Commerce, Industry and Institution. The *commercial function* is divided into five subdivisions, viz. retailing, wholesaling, catering, personal and professional services. The retail and wholesale units comprise basically all household goods. Catering units include tea and snack shops, sweets, restaurants, inns, hotels and lodges. The personal service constitutes hairdressing, radio, cassette, photocopy, rental services, etc. while the professional services comprise clinic, photo studio, law firm, typing institute, language training institute, etc. The *industrial function* is divided into two groups: repairing or retail service and manufacturing activity. The retail service industry includes tailoring or retail service and manufacturing activity. The retail service industry includes tailoring, watch, radio, bicycle and stove repairing, ornament making, farm tools, workshop, shoes making and repairing, iron grill making, furniture, etc. The manufacturing units include farms, agro-based mills, handicrafts, bakery, brick, kilns and cement blocks, cotton textiles, carpet, etc. The *institutional function* is divided into two subgroups, viz., service-oriented (education, health, police station, veterinary, post office) and production oriented (co-operative, godown, electricity, etc.)

Functional Base Analysis

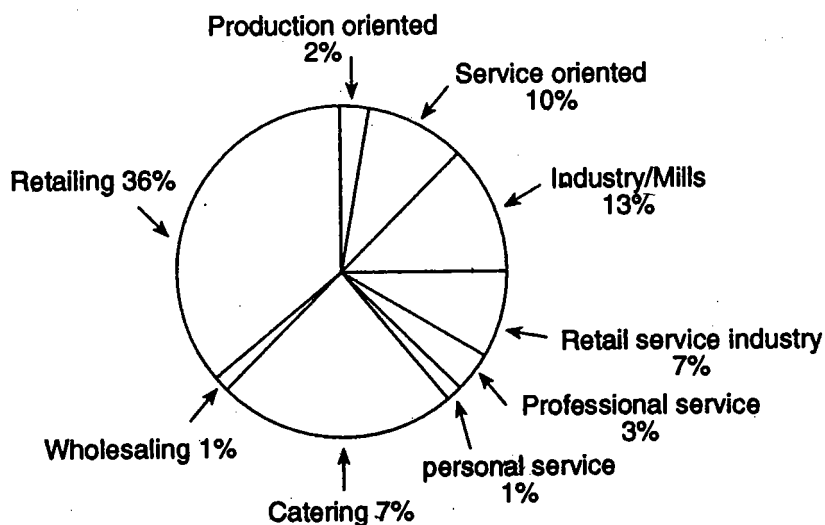
Functional Structure: The word function is commonly used to mean an activity. It is the driving force of a town life, and influences to a very large extent its growth. It comprises all commercial, social, financial, developmental and administrative activities, which are associated with market town as central place and therefore, they are central functions. Functional structure or central function is the outgrowth of the relationship between a central place and customer (Pradhan, 1998). These are thus leading to a close relationship between the residences of the consumers and the location of the services.

Table 1: Number and Type of Functional Establishments, Tansen Town

S.N.	Type	Number	Percentage	Weight*
1.	Commercial	862	69.2	0.11
1.1	Retailing	456	36.6	0.22
1.2	Wholesaling	15	1.2	6.67
1.3	Catering	335	26.9	0.30
1.4	Personal service	17	1.4	5.88
1.5	Professional service	39	3.1	2.56
2.	Industrial total	242	19.4	0.41
2.1	Retail service industry	84	6.7	1.19
2.2	Industry/Mills	158	12.7	0.63
3.	Institutional total	143	11.4	0.69
3.1	Service oriented	125	10.0	0.8
3.2	Production oriented	18	1.4	5.55
	All Total	1247	100.00	

Source: Field Survey, January 2001

* Weight is obtained as $(1/F_i) 100$, where F_i = total frequency of the given function.

Figure 1: Functional Structure of Tansen Municipal Town (2001)

Type: A scientific study of the function of a town is made convenient by classifying the centre into certain groups formed on the basis of their functional attributes and then analyzing the functional characteristics of each group. The functional establishments of the Tansen municipal town are grouped into three broad categories: Commercial, Industry, and Institution. A further breakdown of these categories of function is made, such as commercial function making up of retailing, wholesaling, catering, personal and professional, and industrial function comprising all local industries and mills, and repairing or retail service industries. Likewise, institutional function is categorised such as service oriented and production. Thus, a total of nine different types of functional areas identified in Table 1 and Figure 1.

Number: Among the three main functional types, a commercial function has provided dominant functional base with almost two-thirds of the total functional units of 1247 and therefore, it can be termed as 'commercial centre'. The relative share of industrial function appears to be 19.4 percent. The institutional function shares the least with only 11.4 percent of the total functional unit.

The centrality of these functions is measured based on the weighted index method, which signifies retailing as the most important function followed by catering (Table 1). By this reckoning wholesaling and personal services have appeared among the least important functions. This reflects the existing scarcity of such establishments in Tansen municipal town. It is an indication of the fact that the functional base of this town is weak to generate wholesaling and personal service activities in their surrounding areas. In general, Tansen provides the consumption, and industry-oriented functions. The higher order functions such as wholesaling, personal and professional services are in limited number.

Range: A total of 68 functional range (FR) have been identified for Tansen. The ratio between functional range and functional unit (FR/FU) is 1:18.4. It signifies that there is a larger number of the same type of functions. In other words, the range of functions is smaller compared to the total units. For instance, groceries alone have a total number of 219 and likewise, hotel plus lodge and cloths store comprise a total of 150 and 67, respectively.

Characteristics of Functional Units

Commercial Function: The relative importance of market centres can be expressed in terms of number of retailing functions and their location and kinds. Retailing has a total of 32 ranges among the five subdivisions of the commercial function in this study. The major of retailing comprise grocery, cloths, drug, stove, book and stationary, provision and so on. In this study, the least weight value of retailing (0.22) signifies that the relative importance of this function is the most important to measure centrality of Tansen town. The domination of retailing by a large number of small establishments is a common characteristic. The nature of retail shops seems to depend on the immediate needs with relatively limited choice of the local people who generally tend to prefer to have multiple shopping in the market. All major commercial functions, including a variety of retail shops, are located along the main thoroughfare of the town.

The most common feature of the commercial function is the existence of grocery store (containing both convenience and durable items). The grocery stores are a basic necessity of any market town in Nepal and can be regarded, as a primary function without which there is no true central place. This is also the case for Tansen. Another ubiquitous function is tea with snacks and sweets shop. The existence of high order functions like cloth, drug store, utensils, book and stationary, etc. in retailing; mixed grains, groceries, cloths, dealer/agents in wholesaling; restaurant, hotel plus lodge, etc. in catering and photo studio, lawyer firm, clinic, photo copy service, etc. in professional service signifies their greater centrality. The occurrence of hotels and lodges in Tansen town has a particular importance. They signify the importance of Tansen as administrative, tourism, health and commercial center. Moreover, the occurrence of bookstores, radio, telecommunication and courier services of higher centrality indicates the importance of the communication function.

This typical feature of functional arrangement has some spatio-economic implications. Distance is the vital factor for customers to perform their marketing activities in the town by single visit, as most of them walk a long distance. In this type of strategy, most of the individual shopkeepers diversify the range of services to their customers so as to spread their range of income opportunities or consumer demand. Groceries or other mixed goods thus perform many of the functions of specialist types of goods in one shop unit. Apart from the tendency of the rural people of establishing a long-term

customer loyalty to a shopkeeper in order to facilitate buying on credit is another principal characteristic of customer-shopkeeper relation.

Industrial Function: There are two components of industrial function. One is retail service industry, which comprises tailoring, repairing, jewellery shop, workshop, and so on. These are family based activities, acting as complement to other market functions. They provide services according to customer's demand, and the transactions between them occur in piecemeal basis. Of these, tailoring with varying number is found the most common in the town while others are basically selective in location. Their occurrences in the town signify the role and demand of the people in surrounding areas.

The other component is the manufacturing industry. It can be divided into three broad groups: market oriented (cotton textile, carpet, handloom, cement blocks, Power loom, metallic crafts, etc.), raw material oriented (bricks, kilns, bamboo items, etc.) and agrobased (rice, flour and oil pressing mills). The main characteristic of these industries is that except agroprocessing mills, which serve basically, farm household besides supplying their produce to urban market, all other are primarily related to urban demand oriented. Another feature is that *dhākā* (hand-loom cloth) industries employ relatively a larger number of labours in Tansen town.

The weight value assigned to industry or mills signifies that there is a satisfactory number of such functions in relation to other functional units. It has got a little more weight than the retailing (i.e. 0.41), which signifies better condition in the town after retailing.

Institutional Function: The institutional function that the Tansen possesses can be classified into two groups: productive (bank, co-operative, godown, electricity, etc.) and community oriented. (education, health, police station, veterinary, post office, clubs, temples, and so on). The occurrence of temples in a large number after schools and government offices in the town signifies the socio-religious characteristics of the place.

There are mainly seven banks (commercial bank 3, agriculture bank 1, village development bank 1, and co-operative 2). They provide loans besides other activities. There are a wide variety of health institutions including United Mission Hospital. The level and type of services of these institutions are quite different. For instance, the Mission hospital has been providing better quality services compared to the government hospital and health posts. The weight value assigned to institution is highest (i.e. 0.69) compared to

commercial and industrial function. It signifies their scarcity in Tansen compared to others.

Conclusion

The functional structure (number, type and range of functional units) of Tansen town indicates the three broad functional types, such as commerce, industry and institution. The dominant activity is the commercial function in which the most important function presence the retailing followed by catering. The retailing function is characterized by the large number of general stores, which contains both convenience goods and durable products common to all market centres. They are the basic necessity of any market centre and can be regarded as a primary function without which there is no true central place. This is also the case for Tansen. Wholesaling and personal services have appeared among the least important functions. This reflects the existing scarcity of such establishments in Tansen municipal town. Industry is second important function of Tansen town after commercial function while the relative share of institutional function appeared to be the least.

Acknowledgment

The author would like to thank Dr. Pushkar Pradhan for his valuable suggestion about the methodology of this paper, without which this paper could not have been possible.

Notes

1. Officially, municipal towns are of three hierarchical categories or order, such as metropolis, submetropolis and municipality. There are at present, altogether 58 municipal towns, comprising 1 metropolitan city (Kathmandu), 3 sub-metropolitan cities (Biratnagar, Pokhara and Lalitpur) and 54 municipalities.
2. The average annual urban growth rate during the decade of 1981-91 was 5.8 percent for the country as a whole while Pokhara town had the highest annual urban growth rate of 7.4 percent.

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हाडा बंश र कुलदेवता - एक अध्ययन

गंगा कर्माचार्य (हाडा)

सम्पूर्ण विश्वमा नै हाल विभिन्न जातीय संस्कृति र पुर्ख्यौलीको पहिचान तथा खोजी बारे चासो बढ्दै गएको आजको परिप्रेक्षमा नेपालमा पनि आ-आफ्नो कुल-बंशको बारेमा खोजीनीति गर्ने परिपाटी हाल देखा पर्न थालेको छ। त्यस सिलसिलामा भक्तपुर दरबार हाता वरिपरी मूल थलो बनाएर बस्ने तथा नेवार समुदायमा पनि उच्च कुलका मानिने 'हाडा' बंशको उद्गम स्थल र मूल पुर्खाबारे खोजीनीति गर्ने एउटा जिज्ञासा त्यस कुलका विद्वत वर्ग सामुन्ने देखा परेको छ। हाडा बंशबारे जानकारी दिने कुनै प्रकाशित पुस्तक वा लेख हालसम्म प्राप्त छैन। तैपनि प्राप्त केही पुराना अभिलेख, त्यस बंशका केही अनुभवी व्यक्ति विद्वत वर्ग र गुरु पुरोहितहरूसँग भएको छलफलका आधारमा यो लेख लेख्ने जमर्को गरिएको हो।

श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको जातीय वर्गीकरण (चार जात छत्तिस वर्ण) मध्ये वैश्य वर्णमा गनिने हाडा बंश सुरुदेखि नै यही नामबाट परिचित भई आएको देखिँदैन। वंशावलीहरूमा उक्त थरको उल्लेख कहीं पाइँदैन। मल्लकालीन अभिलेखहरूमा प्रयोग भएको 'भारो' थरसँग यसले सामञ्जस्यता राखेको देखिन्छ। नेपाल सम्वत् ६४३, ७६१, ७६२ र ७८८ अंकित थुप्रै मल्लकालीन अभिलेखहरूमा 'भारो' थर भएका व्यक्तिहरूका नामहरू धार्मिक कृत्याकलापको सिलसिलामा उल्लेख भएका छन्।^१ त्यस्तै ने.सं. ८४६ को एउटा अर्को अभिलेखमा गोकुल भारो र शिल भारो का नामहरू उल्लेख भएका छन्।^२ माथि उल्लेखित अभिलेखहरूमा 'श्रेष्ठ भारोहरू' भन्ने उल्लेख पनि भएका छन्।^३ आफूलाई 'श्रेष्ठ' भन्ने एक समुदायले आफ्नो वंश 'भालु' बंशबाट 'भारो' हुँदै पछि गएर श्रेष्ठ बनेको कुरा पनि बताएको छ। तत्कालीन 'श्रेष्ठ' थरसँग सामञ्जस्यता राख्ने हाडाहरूमध्ये कसैले आज भोली 'श्रेष्ठ' थर नै लेख्ने गरेको पनि पाइन्छ। धुलिखेल निवासी बयोवृद्ध अरुण श्रेष्ठ (हाडा) को भनाईमा हाडाहरू पहिले 'कायस्थ' को रूपमा परिचित थिए। मल्लकालीन प्रशासन भित्र उनीहरू भक्तपुर दरबार हाताको निरीक्षण गर्ने निरीक्षकहरूको रूपमा स्थापित थिए। हाडाकुल अन्य खस कुल, शक कुल जस्तै अभिजात्य वर्ग (श्रेष्ठ) मा पर्दछ। 'स्कथ' र 'स्कथ' बाट पछि 'कायस्थ' को रूपमा परिचित भइसकेपछि तिनीहरूले राजकीय लेख-अभिलेख राख्ने कामको जिम्मेवारी बहन गरेको पाइन्छ। त्यसैले राजकीय सम्मान प्राप्त शिक्षित र अभिजात्य कुलसँग हाडाहरूको सम्बन्ध रहँदै आएको देखिन्छ। आफूलाई भारतको राजपुत जाति

मध्येका भन्ने हाडाहरू पहिले मांशाहारी थिएनन् । उपत्यकामा प्रवेश गरेपछि उनीहरूले यहाँका नेवार समुदायसँगको उठवस र निकट सम्बन्धले तिनीहरूका कर्मकाण्डहरूलाई पनि अपनाउँदै गए । उपत्यकामा प्रवेश गरेपछि मल्ल राजाहरूले नेवार संस्कृतिलाई अपनाएर 'ना यर' बाट ब्रतबन्ध, वेलविवाह गर्नेजस्ता परम्परालाई मान्यता दिए जस्तै हाडाहरू पनि अन्ततः नेवार संस्कृतिका रक्षक नै बन्न पुगे । करिब ३९/४० पुस्ताको हाडा वंशावली उपलब्ध छ भन्ने पनि निज अरुण श्रेष्ठको भनाई रहेको छ ।

जतिबेला कुश द्विपमा 'कुश' जातिको प्रभूत्व बिकसित भयो, सोही समयतिर स्कथहरूले राजकीय लेख-अभिलेख लेख्ने कामको जिम्मेवारी बहन गरे । ईसापूर्व १५०० देखि ९०० का बीचमा स्कथहरू कायस्थमा परिचित भई सकेका थिए । 'खस' जातिको इतिहासमा यी कायस्थहरू विद्वान्, लेखपढ गर्ने राजकीय सम्मान प्राप्त शिक्षित वंशका रूपमा पाइन्छ । ईसा पूर्व तेस्रो सताब्दीसम्ममा ती शिक्षित कायस्थहरूको एक शाखा "हस्त लाघभा" (छिटो लेख्ने) भइसकेका थिए । त्यस कार्य कुशलताको आधारमा तत्कालीन शासकहरूले तिनीहरूलाई "हस्त लाघभा" भन्न थाले । तात्कालीन इरानका शासकहरू "हस्त लाघभा" हरूलाई 'हस्तिन' पनि भन्दथे । राजनैतिक कारणबाट ती 'हस्त लाघभा' वा "हस्तिन" हरू इरानबाट भागेर महाराष्ट्रमा प्रवेश गर्न बाध्य भए । महाराष्ट्र प्राकृत भाषाका वक्ताले तिनीहरूलाई 'हास्ता' भन्न थाले । कालान्तरमा 'स' को उच्चारण लोप हुन गएर 'त' ध्वनि दोहरिएर तिनीहरूलाई 'हात्ता' भन्न थालियो ।

माथि उल्लेखित धुलिखेल निवासी श्री अरुण श्रेष्ठ र श्री नरबहादुर श्रेष्ठका अनुसार दक्षिण भारतका कुलकर्णी वंशका मुस्लिम शासकहरूको अत्याचार सहन नसकी वि.सं. १७० का आसपासमा 'हास्ता' वंशी परिवारहरू अन्य कुलका परिवारहरू सँगसँगै भागेर आफ्नो सुरक्षाका लागि हिमालयको फेदीतर्फ प्रवेश गरेका थिए । तिनै कुलहरूमध्ये वर्तमान हाडा-वंशका पुस्ताहरू पाल्ही र प्राकृत भाषाका वक्ताका प्रभावमा परेर 'हात्ता' हुँदै 'हाडा' बनेका हुन् । हाडावंशका अन्य बयोवृद्धहरू पनि आफ्नो वंशको उद्गम स्थल दक्षिण भारत (महाराष्ट्र/आन्ध्र प्रदेश) हो भनी बताउनु हुन्छ । मुसलमानी शासकहरूको अत्याचार सहन नसकी आत्मरक्षाको खातिर ती 'हाता' राजपूत कुलका परिवारहरू हिमालय क्षेत्र नेपालतिर आश्रय लिन गए र पछि उपत्यकामा उनीहरूको प्रवेश भएको हो भन्ने पनि ती बयोवृद्धहरूको भनाइ रहेको छ ।

हाडा कुलदेवता घरको प्रवेशद्वारको बायाँतिर रहेको संवत् ७९३ को शिलापत्रमा "कल्याण सिंह पालु" र संवत् ८४६ को अर्को ताम्रपत्रमा "मेरु सिंह भारो" नाम परेका छन् ।^{१५} यो 'सिंह' थरको सम्बन्ध हरिसिंह देवका उत्तराधिकारीहरूसँग रहेको पनि हुन सक्छ । जयस्थिति मल्लका महामन्त्री र धर्ममल्लका प्रधानमन्त्री पनि जय सिंह राम रहेका थिए । जयस्थिति मल्ल राजा हुँदाको समाजमा राजकुलसँग सम्बन्ध राख्ने या शासन कार्यमा भाग लिने धेरै जमीनजेषा भएकाहरूमध्ये मल्ल, ठकुरी, भारो र मुल्मी थर भएका थिए भन्ने कुराको इतिहासमा उल्लेख छ । एघारौँ शताब्दिमा मही भारो, शिल भारोले दिक्षा मन्त्र लिएको कुराको पनि इतिहासमा उल्लेख छ ।^{१६} शाहकालीन अभिलेखमा पनि 'भारो' थरको उल्लेख भएको

पाइन्छ । माथि उल्लेखित 'पालु' र 'भारो' थरले एउटै वंशलाई सूचित गर्दछ । यसबाट 'सिंह', 'भारो'हरूले मल्लकालीन समाजमा उच्च स्थान प्राप्त गरेको स्पष्ट हुन्छ ।

जयस्थिति मल्लले नेवार समुदायलाई ६४ जातिमा विभक्त गरेको कुराको उल्लेख वंशावलीहरूमा परेको छ ।^{१६} तिनै ६४ जातिमध्ये उच्च श्रेणीमा पर्ने भारो या हाडाकुलको सुरुवात कसबाट भयो भन्ने कुराको एकीन त्यस कुलका व्यक्तिहरूबाट हुन सकेको छैन । हाडा कुलदेवता घरको ढोकाका अभिलेखहरूमा 'भारो', 'सिंह', 'पालु' आदि थर उल्लेख भएबाट तिनीहरूको कुल (वंश) बारे अलमलमा पर्ने स्थितिमा आएता पनि हाडाहरूले हाल बोलीचालीमा प्रयोग गर्ने गरेको (लोरा, न्हुछे, इकंकपा विजुक्छे) र लेख्ने गरेको विजुक्छे, श्रेष्ठ थर जस्तै उक्त "सिंह भारो", "सिंह पालु" पनि हुन सक्ने अनुमान गरिएको छ । आफूले तयार पारेको हाडा वंशावलीबाट पनि हाडा थर कसरी र कहाँबाट सुरू भएको भन्ने एकीन नभएको कुरा श्री नारायण भक्त हाडा (लोरा) बताउनु हुन्छ ।^{१७}

उक्त प्रश्नकै सम्बन्धमा श्री केदार राज राजोपाध्यायसँग भएको छलफलमा पनि "हाडा" थरको थालनी कस्ले गरेको भन्ने बारेमा एकीन गर्न नसकेको वहाँ बताउनु हुन्छ । भारतका 'हाण्डा' अथवा 'हारा' थरसँग नेपालका हाडाहरूको कुनै सम्बन्ध छ कि भन्ने प्रश्नको जवाफमा वहाँ भन्नु हुन्छ कि हाडाहरू भारतबाट नेपाल पसेको कुरा सत्य हो । सुरूमा ती दुइको बीचमा सम्बन्ध भएको भए पनि हाल कुनै सम्पर्क वा सम्बन्ध भएको देखिँदैन । हाडा वंशमा समय र स्थान अनुसार आफूलाई श्रेष्ठ, प्रधान र विजुक्छे भनी परिचित गराउनेहरू पनि धेरै छन् । घरायसीमा मात्र होइन सरकारी कागजातहरूमा पनि विजुक्छे लेख्नेहरू पनि देखिन्छन् भन्ने वहाँको भनाई हो ।^{१८}

भारतका केही स्थानमा हाडा थर भएका व्यक्तिहरू हाल पनि कायमै भएको कुराको केही प्रमाणहरू यहाँ प्रस्तुत गर्नु उपयुक्त होला । भक्तपुर निवासी श्री कपिल हाडाका सुपुत्र मिलन हाडा, वि.सं. २०५५-०५६ तिर फूटबल खेलको सिलसिलामा राजस्थानमा केही समयको लागि भ्रमणमा जाँदा उनको 'हाडा' थर भएको व्यक्तिसँग भेट भएको र त्यहाँ २००, ३०० जति हाडाहरू बसोबास गर्ने गरेको कुरा उनले बुझेको पनि सुत्रले बताए । त्यस्तै भारतीय दूरदर्शन च्यानलबाट २०५७-८-११ गते बेलुका १० बजेतिर प्रशारित एक समाचारमा Kan Sing Hada को नाम (अंग्रेजीमा) उल्लेख भएको थियो । भारत सरकारको जेल सुधार सम्बन्धि कार्यक्रमको सिलसिलामा उनको नाम उल्लेख भएको थियो । यसबाट सिंह हाडाहरू भारतमा हाल पनि कायमै भएको तर हाल नेपालका हाडाहरूसँग तिनीहरूको कुनै सम्बन्ध नभएको पनि स्पष्ट हुन्छ ।

काठमाडौँ भन्दा बाहिर व्यवसायको सिलसिलामा रहँदा हाडाहरूले हाडा थर नलेखि 'प्रधान' अथवा 'श्रेष्ठ' लेख्ने गरेको पनि अनुमान हुन्छ । हाडा वंशमा 'विजुक्छे' भनी आफूलाई चिन्हाउनेहरू मध्ये हाल ने.म.कि.पा.का अध्यक्ष तथा साँसद श्री नारायणमान विजुक्छे पनि एक हुनुहुन्छ । सुरुदेखि नै वहाँले 'विजुक्छे' थरबाट आफूलाई चिन्हाउँदै आउनु भएको छ । यसबाट हाडा या विजुक्छे एउटै वंशका दुई नाम हुन् भन्ने बुझिन्छ । हाडाहरूलाई "विजुक्छे" किन भनिएको बारे विस्तृत विवरण तल दिइँदै छ ।

हाडा वंशका मूल पुरुष

हाडा कुल देवता घरको प्रवेशद्वारको बायाँतर्फको सम्बत् ८४६ अंकित अभिलेखमा चन्द्र हासको नाम परेको छ । हाडा कुलका व्यक्तिहरू उनलाई आफ्नो मूल पुरुष मान्दछन् । तिनीहरूको मौखिक परम्पराअनुसार हाडा कुलका मूल पुरुष मानिने तीन दाजुभाइहरू थिए । तीनमा जेठो चन्द्र हास, माहिलो षसि हास र कान्छो रज हास थिए । केही समयअघि तीन पुरुषहरूका शाखा सन्तान बढेर व्यापक भएपछि व्यावहारिक कठिनाईहरूलाई ध्यानमा राखि तीन पुरुषका सन्तान तीन शाखामा विभाजित भए । तिनीहरू क्रमशः जेठोका थाथु, माहिलोका दथु र कान्छोका कुथु समूह बन्न गए । उक्त विभाजन पछि हाडाहरूको कर्मकाण्डको लागि शाखाहरू पनि छुटिए । एक शाखा भित्र १३ दिने दाजुभाइहरू मात्र पर्ने गए । औपचारिक रूपबाट नभए पनि अनौपचारिक ती शाखाहरू भित्र धेरै नाम-थर हुँदै आए । जस्तै जेठो चन्द्र हासका सन्तानको शाखालाई 'इकं कप्पा' भन्ने पनि सामूहिक नाम दिइयो । 'इकं' एक प्रकारको सागको नेवारी नाम हो । यस शाखाका बहुसंख्यक परिवार खेतीवाल भएको कारणबाट यो नाम हुन गएको हो भन्ने धारणा त्यहाँका वयोवृद्धहरूको धारणा रहेको छ ।

त्यस्तै माहिलो षसिहासको सन्तानको खलकलाई "लोरा, विजुक्छें, घ्यू: साहु, न्हुछें" आदि नामबाट पुकार्ने गरिन्छ । प्रायः पेशाको आधारमा यी नामहरू रहन गएका देखिन्छन् ।

कान्छो रज हासको सन्तानको खलकलाई 'खिमुरु' नामबाट पनि पुकारिने गरिन्छ । यो शाखा छोरीबाट भएको भन्ने विश्वास गरिन्छ र यो समूहले कुल देवताका धेरैजसो पूजाहरूमा भाग लिन नपाइने प्रावधान पनि रहेको छ भनिन्छ ।

यसरी ती समूहहरूमा आ-आफ्नो रीति र व्यवहार अलग अलग भए पनि, कुल देवता सम्बन्धी पूजा भने सबै समूह एक भएर चलाउने गर्दछन् । ती तीनै समूहको सामूहिक नाम पनि 'विजुक्छें' नै रहेको छ ।

हाडा कुलदेवताको स्थापना

भक्तपुर दरवार हातामा पर्ने हाडा कुलदेवताको स्थापना त्यहाँ कसरी भयो भन्ने कुरा उक्त देवताको चोकको भित्तामा कुँदिएको अभिलेखबाट स्पष्ट हुन्छ । सो अनुसार परापूर्वकालमा मध्य भारतमा मुसलमानहरूको हिन्दू प्रति कठोर व्यवहार भएपछि एउटा देवतालाई बचाउनको निमित्त भगीरथ समुद्रमा फाली राखेको बेला उक्त देवतालाई त्यहाँबाट निकाली अन्यत्र लैजानु भन्ने सपना कुनैलाई भएकोले, सो मानिसले पनि उक्त सपना अनुसार ती देवतालाई समुद्रबाट भिकी साथै लिएर भक्तपुरमा आई बसे । त्यसपछि उक्त देवतालाई कहाँ र कहिले स्थापना गर्ने भन्ने बारेमा पनि देवीले नै सपनामा सिकाए अनुरूप एक निश्चित समय र स्थानमा एउटा सर्प पनि आएर बसेको देखेपछि सोही स्थानमा हाडा कुलदेवताको स्थापना गरिएको थियो । पछि सो स्थानको नाम 'विजुक्छें' भन्ने (नेवारी) नामाकरण गरियो अर्थात् विजुक + चुक्छेंबाट 'विजुक्छें' (सर्प खसेको चोकघर) भएको हो ।

पछि हाडाहरूले यही स्थानको नाम 'विजुक्छै' लाई थरको रूपमा लेख्ने गरे । 'विजुक्छै' शब्दले सम्पूर्ण हाडाहरू भन्ने बोध पनि गराउँछ ।^{१९}

हाडा कुलदेवताको स्थापना सम्बन्धी अन्य कुनै ठोस ऐतिहासिक प्रमाण नपाइएकाले यसलाई अभिलेखमा किंवदन्तीको रूपमा पनि प्रस्तुत गरिएको हो । तर अन्य कुलका कुलदेवता स्थापना सम्बन्धी घटनाहरूको विचार गर्दा यो घटना पनि सत्यको केही नजिक पुगेको मान्नु पर्छ । सिम्रौनगढका राजा हरिसिंह देवले आफूसँग ल्याएकी तुलजा भवानीलाई भक्तपुर मूलचोकमा स्थापित गरेको सम्बन्धमा पनि यस्तै कथा जोडिएका छन् ।^{१०}

नेपालमा तुलजा भवानीलाई सूर्यवंशी हरिसिंह देवले नै भित्र्याएका हुन् भन्ने कुरामा इतिहासकारहरूको सहमती रहँदै आएको छ । सन् १३२५ मा भारतीय मुसलमान शासक गया शुद्दिनले सिम्रौनगढ माथि आक्रमण गर्दा हरि सिंह देवले त्यहाँ आफूद्वारा स्थापित उक्त भवानीलाई समेत सँगै लिई भक्तपुर आई पुगेका थिए । उनले त्यसरी साथमा तुलजा भवानी ल्याएकाले उनी नेपालमा विशेष रूपले प्रसिद्ध हुन गए । मल्ल राजाहरूले इष्ट देवी र कुल देवताको रूपमा पनि पूजने गरेकाले तुलजा भवानी सर्वसाधारणकी देवी भएन ।^{११} यसै सिलसिलामा द्रव्य शाहका मन्त्री गणेश पाँडेले (पाँडेवंशका मूल पुरुष) पाल्पाबाट बोकाएर ल्याएको कुलदेवतालाई गोरखाको भुसुण्डिको एउटा मन्दिरमा स्थापना गरेको कारणबाट उनी त्यस क्षेत्रमा निकै लोकप्रिय बन्न गएको कुराको वर्णन पनि यहाँ सान्दर्भिक नै देखिन्छ ।^{१२} अर्थात् लिच्छवि र मल्लहरूले अपनाए जस्तै आक्रमणकारी मुस्लिमहरूसँगको संघर्षको दौरान आत्म सुरक्षाको निमित्त आफ्नो मूल वासस्थान (भारत भूमि) लाई छोडि सुरक्षित स्थानको खोजमा हाडाहरू पनि नेपालमा पसेको हुनुपर्छ । भक्तपुरमा कुल देवताको स्थापना गरेको कारणबाट नै हाडाहरू त्यस क्षेत्रमा संस्कृतिको विकासमा संलग्न उच्च वर्गको रूपमा प्रसिद्ध भएका छन् ।

हाडाकुल देवता र तुलजा भवानी

भक्तपुर दरवार हातासँगै रहेको प्राचीन शैलीमा निर्माण भएको हाडा कुलदेवताको घरलाई हाडाहरू आफ्नो मुख्य तीर्थस्थलको रूपमा लिन्छन् । करीव दुई रोपनी जग्गाभित्र तीन वटा चोकहरूमा फैलिएको यो कुलदेवताको घर चौघडा आकारमा निर्माण भएको छ । अनेक देव देवीका मूर्तिहरूले सम्पन्न उक्त स्थलमा हाडा खलकका सर्वसाधारणले र दिक्षुकधारीहरूले मात्र प्रवेश पाउने पनि हुन्छ । अनेक उत्सव, चाड-पर्वहरूमा सबै हाडाहरू यहाँ एक चित्त भएर आफ्नो सांस्कृतिक परम्पराको परिचालनमा संलग्न हुने गर्दछन् । उक्त क्षेत्रमा प्रवेश गरेपछि ऊँच, नीच(धनी, गरीब)को भावना कसैमा रहँदैन । नयाँ पुस्तामा पनि यस्तै प्रकारको मानसिकता पाइन्छ । भक्तपुर दरवार हातामा हाडा कुलदेवता घर नजिकै रहेकी मल्ल राजाहरूकी इष्टदेवी तुलजा भवानीलाई हाडाहरू आफ्नो कुल देवताकी दिदीको रूपमा मान्ने गर्दछन् । दुवै स्थानमा गरिने पूजाहरू राजकीय सम्मानमा बाहेक प्रायः समान्य नै रहेको देखिन्छ । दशैंको लामो पूजा सुरु हुनुभन्दा पहिले तुलजा भवानी कहाँबाट केही पूजाको सामान हाडा कुल देवता कहाँ ल्याई पुर्‍याउने परिपाटी आजसम्म रहँदै आएको छ । यस

परिपाटीलाई त्यस कुलका वयोवृद्धहरू दुवै कुलदेवताका बीचमा दिदी बहिनीको सम्बन्ध भएको कारणको परिणाम बताउँछन् ।

भक्तपुरको प्रसिद्ध नव दुर्गा नाचसँग पनि हाडा कुलदेवताको सम्बन्ध रहेको देखिन्छ । वर्षेनी विलाछें (दरवार हाता) मा नचाउने नव दुर्गा नाचको सुरु र पछि पनि हाडा कुल देवताको बाहिरी चोकमा देवगणहरू जम्मा हुने, विश्राम गर्ने गर्दछन् । सोही चोकमा दशैमा हाडा कुलदेवताको तर्फबाट नव दुर्गा भवानीलाई वेल विवाह गर्ने भनी पूजा गर्ने परम्परा पनि रही आएको छ ।

हाडा कुलदेवताको पूजा व्यवस्था

दैनिक रूपमा गरिने पूजा बाहेक वर्षभरीमा वार्षिक, अर्धवार्षिक र मासिक पूजाहरू हुने गर्दछन् । वर्षभरीमा करिव दुई महिना जतिको अवधि पूजामा बित्ने गर्छ । ती पूजाहरूमा विष्णुकधारीहरूले मात्र भाग लिन्छन् । उक्त पूजाहरू यस प्रकारका छन्:-

१. ललासप्तमी- हाडा वंशका मूल पुरुषमध्ये एक मानिने षसिहासको नाममा श्राद्ध तर्पण गर्न प्रत्येक वर्षको माघ महिनामा यो अनुष्ठान हुने गर्दछ । कुलदेवताको निमित्त उक्त मूल पुरुषले प्रशस्त जग्गा-जमिन प्रदान गरेको कारणले उनको सम्झनामा यसरी श्राद्ध तर्पण गर्ने गरेको छ ।
२. भुसादान- असार महिनामा हुने यो प्रतिस्थापन पूजा चार दिनसम्म चल्दछ ।
३. पूच्छा- श्रावण महिनाको अन्ततिर गरिने यो पूजाको अवधि चार, पाँच दिनको हुन्छ । सो अवसरमा विष्णुकधारी बाहेक अन्यलाई पनि मन्दिरभित्र रहेका देवदेवीको दर्शन गर्ने अवसर प्राप्त हुन्छ ।
४. दशै कर्म- आश्विन महिनाको घटस्थापनाका दिनदेखि सुरु हुने यो सबै भन्दा ठूलो र धेरै दिन चल्ने पूजा हो । कुलदेवता कहाँ प्रत्येक दिन विहान दर्शनार्थीहरूको लाम लागेको हुन्छ ।
५. घन्छा- चैत्र महिनामा गरिने यो पूजा चार पाँच दिनसम्म चल्ने गर्छ । पूजाको विधि विधान पछि व्रत उपवास टुगिने हुन्छ ।
६. चढे पूजा (मासिक पूजा)- प्रत्येक महिनाको चतुर्दशीको दिनमा गरिने यो पूजा वर्षमा बाह्र पटक गरिन्छ ।

उपरोक्त सबै पूजाहरू थाथु र दथु दुई समूह मिलेर चलाउने गर्छन् । ती पूजाहरूमा कुथु समूहको कुनै सहभागिता हुँदैन । कुल देवता तर्फबाट प्राप्त आम्दानीको हिस्सा पनि सो समूहले नपाउने प्रावधान छ ।

पूजारी र सहायकहरू

यसरी वर्षभरीमा पटक पटक गरी धेरै पल्ट पूजा चलाउनु पर्ने भएकोले पूजारीको छुट्टै व्यवस्था गरिएको छ । थाथु समूह तिरबाट 'नायो' र दथु समूहबाट 'नकि' राखेर संचालन हुने

कुलदेवताको पूजाहरूमा पूजारीको सक्रियता रहने हुन्छ । नकिंको स्थान पहिलो र नायोको स्थान दोश्रो हुने भएकोले हाडा परिवारमा मातृसत्तात्मक प्रथालाई कायमै राखेको स्पष्ट हुन्छ । तोकिएको दिक्षुकधारी कर्माचार्यले मात्र पूजाको लागि प्रवेश पाउने प्रावधान रहेको छ । हरिसिंहदेव नेपाल पस्दा आफ्नो साथमा ल्याएका आचार (आचार्य, कर्माचार्य) हरूबाट नै सुरुदेखि नै त्यहाँ पूजा हुँदै आउने गरेको छ । दैनिक र अन्य पूजाहरूको लागि पूजाहारीलाई खेतको आन्दानी छुट्याइएको छ । त्यसको अतिरिक्त समस्त हाडा खलकमा हुने कर्मकाण्डहरू र उत्सवका पूजाहरूमा उनलाई पुजारीका रूपमा राखी पूजा गर्ने चलन भएकोले त्यसबाट पनि केही आम्दानी उनलाई प्राप्त हुन्छ । कुलदेवता घरको रेखदेख, सरसफाइको निमित्त (कुसले सरहको काम गराउन) पनि केही मानिसहरूलाई आवासको सुविधा दिएर राखिएका हुन्छन् ।

हाडा कुलदेवताको आयस्ता

भक्तपुर जिल्ला भित्र आफ्ना प्रशस्त गुठी जग्गाहरू भएको कारणबाट हाडा कुल देवतालाई तलेजु भवानी पछिको धनी कुल देवता मानिन्छ । वि.सं. २०२१ सालको भूमि सुधार ऐनले यसको आम्दानीमा निक्कै असर पुऱ्याएको भए पनि हाल पसल र घरको भाडाबाट सो क्षतिपूर्ति गर्नसक्ने क्षमता रहेको छ । वर्ष भरिमा हुने पूजाहरूमा खर्च गरेर पनि कुल देवता घरको मर्मत संभारको लागि खर्च धान्न सक्ने यस्को क्षमता छ । कुलदेवतासँग यति धेरै गुठी खेत रहनुको पछाडि एउटा किंवदन्ती रहेको छ । सोअनुसार हाडा कुलका एक मूल पुरुष मानिने षसिहासले धर्म पुत्रको रूपमा पालेका कुनै व्यक्ति काजी पदमा पुगेको कारण तत्कालीन मल्ल राजासँग उनको राम्रो सम्पर्क रहेको थियो । एक दिन भक्तपुर दरबार हातामा राजाको सवारी हुँदा उक्त काजी पनि साथमा थिए । लौरोले टेकेर राजाको दर्शन गर्न भनि आएका षसिहासलाई राजाले देखे पछि “उनले टेक्न सक्नेसम्मको जमीन उनलाई प्रदान गर्नु” भन्ने राजाको हुकुम भएछ । उनले आफूले पाएको सम्पूर्ण जमीन हाडा कुलदेवताको निमित्त प्रदा गरी दिएकाले नै हाडाहरूलाई आफ्ना कुलदेवता, संस्कृति र परम्परालाई जीवन्त राख्न धेरै सजिलो भएको हो । कुलदेवता घरसँगै हात्तीको तवेला (किसिगः) पनि केही वर्ष अधिसम्म रहँदै आएकाले त्यहाँ हात्ती पनि पाल्ने गरिन्थ्यो भन्ने कुरा बुझिन्छ ।

आगं (कुलदेवता) समिति

हाडाहरूको विशेष धार्मिक महत्व भएको र एक मात्र प्रमुख तीर्थस्थल र मिलन केन्द्रको रूपमा रही आएको आफ्नो कुलदेवताको स्थान र सम्पत्तिको सुरक्षा गरी त्यहाँ संचालन हुने पूजा आजालाई व्यवस्थित तरिकाले संचालन गर्न वि.सं. २०३५ पौष २९ गतेका दिन १५ सदस्य रहेको एक आगं समितिको गठन भएको थियो । वि.सं. २०४७ मा केही सदस्यहरूको नाम हेरफेर गरी रामदास हाडाकै अध्यक्षतामा पुर्नगठित भएको अर्को समितिले धेरै महत्वपूर्ण कार्यहरू गरेको थियो । प्रत्येक महिनामा बस्ने उक्त समितिको बैठकले कुलदेवताको आम्दानी खर्चको लेखाजोखा गर्ने गर्दछ ।^{१३}

कुलदेवता भक्तपुरमा भएको कारणबाट हाडाहरूको मूल थलो भक्तपुर नै हुनुपर्छ । पछि पहाड, तराईतिर छरिएर हाडाहरूले धनुषा, मोरंग, भापा, सर्लाही, रौतहट, बारा, पर्सा, बागलुङ्ग, कास्की, पाँचथर आदि स्थानमा पनि बसोबास गर्दै आएका छन् । विभिन्न सामाजिक, आर्थिक, राजनैतिक जस्ता कारणहरूले उनीहरू उपत्यकाबाट बाहिर विभिन्न ठाउँमा छरिएर रहन पुगे ।

उपसंहार

सम्पूर्ण हाडाहरूलाई एउटै सूत्रमा बाँधेर आफ्नो सांस्कृतिक परम्परालाई अघि बढाउने सामर्थ्य कुलदेवतासँग भएकाले हाडा कुलको आफ्ना कुलदेवतासँग गहिरो र अटुट सम्बन्ध रहँदै आएको छ । कुलदेवता घरमा प्रवेशको निमित्त केही कडा नियमहरू रहेका छन् । ती नियमहरू जाति पाती र छुवाछुतसँग विशेष रूपले संबद्ध छन् । वि.सं. २०२० भदौ १ गतेको मुलुकी ऐनले पनि त्यसमा खास प्रभाव पार्न सकेको छैन । दिक्षुकधारिहरूको संख्या हाल केही कम भएका कारण पूजा संचालन गर्न केही समस्या पर्ने स्थिति देखिएकोमा, दिक्षा मन्त्र लिने सम्बन्धमा हाल विद्यमान नियमहरू खुकुलो भएमा सो लिन चाहने समूह पनि तयार छ भन्ने कुरा सुनिएको थियो ।^{१४} तर अघिल्लो वर्ष २०५७, श्रावण १८ गते देखि २३ गतेसम्म हाडा आगं समितिले कुल धर्म अनुसार दिक्षाको प्रशिक्षण दिने कार्य सम्पन्न गरेको कुरा समाचार पत्रहरूमा प्रकाशित भएको थियो । थाथु तथा दथु सदस्य महिला-पुरुष गरी जम्मा १४ जनालाई दिक्षा दिन उक्त प्रशिक्षण कार्यक्रम विधि पूर्वक हाडा आगं समितिले आयोजना गरेको थियो ।^{१५} पुरानो पुस्ताका अतिरिक्त नयाँ पुस्तामा समेत आफ्नो सांस्कृतिक परम्परा कायम राख्ने जागरूकता र आफ्नो परम्परालाई कायम राख्नमा तत्पर भएको यसबाट स्पष्ट हुन्छ । यसरी सरकारी लेख-अभिलेखहरू दुस्त राख्ने पेशा भएका, कायस्थको रूपमा नेपालमा देखा परेका हाडाहरूले प्राज्ञिक, प्राविधिक र व्यावसायिक क्षेत्रबाट देशको सेवामा योगदान पुऱ्याउँदै आएका छन् । राजनैतिक क्षेत्रमा पनि प्रशस्त योगदान पुऱ्याउने यो वंशले नेपालमा हाँस्य-कलामा पनि आफ्नो छवि छोडेको छ ।

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परिशिष्ट नं. १ "क"

शिला पत्र (हाडा कुलदेवता घरको ढोकाको बायाँ) (जम्मा ४ हरफको)
सम्बत ७९३ मार्ग सिर शुल्क पूनिष रो
हिनी नक्षत्र साध्ययोग आदित्ववार थ्व
कुन्हु श्री३ आगम जुयके कल्याण सिंह
पालुन निम्हा स्त्री पुरुषन विलीपती तोरङ (तोरण)

परिशिष्ट नं. १ "ख"

ताम्रपत्र (हाडा कुलदेवता घरको ढोकाको बायाँ) (जम्मा ७ हरफको)
नैपालिके रसयुग द्विप समिताद्वे, माघे सितेस्तर तिथौ गुरु पुण्यण्यु
पुच्छतम सुवर्ण रक्षतम चुस पुष्य मातम, देवेइसमर्पित मिदम कलषौ परिष्ठम ॥ चनदन
धीमता साद्धम मेरुतिहा नुजन चपत्याग चुकु ति नाम्नाच स्वेस्तेषी परिष्ठय ॥
सम्बत ८४६ माघ शुक्ल त्रयोदशी तिथि, पुष्य नक्षत्र आयुक्षमान योगे वृहस्पवाल थो
कुन्हु श्री श्री श्री स्वेष्ट देव प्रितिन चन्द्रहाशे, स्त्री चुकुती मयि किज मेरुसिंह भारोन
स्वम्हास न छत्र स्वान माल दुता ॥ शुभ ॥

परिशिष्ट नं. २

हाडा कुलदेवता घरको चोकको भित्तामा रहेको अभिलेख

श्री कुल देवताय नमः

हाडा (विजुक छैं) आगं समिति

हाडा खलकया आगंद्योया गुकथं स्थापना जुल धैगु खंय् किंवदन्ति अनुसार न्हापा परापूर्वकाले हाडात मध्य भारतते मुसलमान तयगु हिन्दु प्रतिया व्यवहार कथोर जुया छम्ह द्योयात भगिरथ खुसी वांछवया तः गुलिं उम्ह द्योयात भगिरथ खुसिनं लिक्कया मेथाय् यंकी धका म्हागसे क्यंगुलिं उम्ह मनुनं व द्यो लुइका नेपाः देया ख्वप वया च्वंवल । अललिं उम्ह द्योयात गनस्थापना याय्गु धका म्हागसे जुःगु वखते, वयात हे म्हागसे द्यो नं. “थुखुनुया दिने, थुगु थासय् आकासं वि छम्ह जुवई, वहे वि जुवगु थासय् हाडा तयगु आगंद्योया स्थापना यानाब्यु” धैगु क्यंगुलिं उगु खास दिने, उगु थासे वि छम्ह जुया च्वंगु खना अनहे हाडा तयगु आगं द्यो या स्थापना याना थ्व थाय्पा नां ‘विजुक छैं’ घका नामाकरण यागु जुल ।

थन्यागु विशेष धार्मिक महत्व दुगु व हाडा तयगु छगु मात्र मुख्यगु संगम स्थल जुया च्वंगु आगं द्योयात पुर्खा तय्सं विशेष धार्मिक आस्थां समर्पण याना न्हापानं इले व्यले जिर्णउद्यार याना थकुगु व, थाय व सम्पत्तिया सुरक्षा व उकिया परिचालन बांलाक याना दच्छीया दुने तःगु प्रकारया पूजा आज्ञा यात व्यवस्थित रूपं चलेयाना वनेया लागिं वि.सं. २०३५ साल पौष २९ गते खुन्हु १५ जवानमा छगु हाडा समिति या निस्वनेगु ज्या जुल । उगु आगं समितिया स्थापना कालं निसैं अनवरत रूपय् थौतक आगंद्योया सुरक्षा, पूजा संचालन व विभिन्न सुधारया ज्यायाना वैच्वंगु भोले २०५३ साल शिवरात्रीया दिने जिर्णजुया दुंवयत्यंगु आगंछेंया पुर्विय खण्डया पुनः निर्माणया लागि शिलान्याश जुल । दांया व्यवस्थाया लागि आगंया जग्गा अधिग्रहनं प्राप्त जुवगु रकम व उकिया ब्याज याना ३, ८४, १३६१- व आगंया पस वालं वइगु ध्यवा हत्ता कया वगु रकम ३,९०,०३०१- व आगंया कोसे ५७,२५९।९४ नापं याना जम्मा रकम ८,३९,४२५।९४ लागतया आगंछेंया पुनः निर्माण याना वि.सं. २०५४ साल चैत्र ८ गते शनिवारया दिने श्रद्धा भक्ति पूर्वक क्षमापूजा सम्पन्न याना आगंछेंया पुनः निर्माणया ज्या सम्पन्न जुल ।

इति संवत् २०५४ साल, चैत्र ८ गते शनिवार शुभम् ।

BOOK REVIEW

The Throne of Stone. 2000. J.P. Cross. Kathmandu: Mandala Book Point, 351pp. ISBN: 99933-10-07-7. Rs. Not mentioned.

The throne of stone, depicted clearly on the cover photograph of the book under review, is a very large flat stone on a mountain top, slightly raised one end. It was on this unusual stone throne that generations of ancient Tura –known today as Dura-- chieftains or rulers of Turlung in the Lamjung district of West Nepal, sanctified by tradition and rite as ruler of the Tura people during the pre-unification days were crowned. According to tradition, the Chief or ruler of the Tura tribe or community would sit on the Throne of Stone and the chief Brahmin priest would anoint vermilion powder on his forehead. All the subjects would then come and pay homage.

The Duras today live on the hills of Dura Danda, Turlungkot and Kunchha Aam Danda in the Lamjung District of Nepal. They speak the Dura language and practice animism, Hinduism and Buddhism. The Duras have their own unique traditions and culture and their religious and cultural formalities are quite akin to that of the Gurungs. The male offspring of the Duras according to tradition are fitted with bows and arrows on the very day of their naming ceremonies, a fact that reflects their martial heritage. The book under review is about these Duras of Nepal and their loyalty and bond of friendship struck with the great ancestor of the unifier of Nepal. Looking back, it would seem hardly likely that events in an unassuming village like Turlung, of The Throne of Stone, tucked away in jungle covered mountains of west Nepal would play a prominent role in changing the course of history and shaping what is today known as modern Nepal.

The book under review, the first part, deals with these developments based on a reconstructed village version of those far off days – the pre dawn of Nepal's Gorkha dynasty. It is a commendable effort at trying to piece together the age-old chipped and broken pieces of the jigsaw puzzle of Nepal's early history before unification in 1768 by King Prithvi Narayan Shah, the founder

of the Shah dynasty of Nepal and the ninth generation descendant of Drabya Shah of the House of Gorkha.

The writer Col. J P Cross who spent some 56 years of his life in close association with Nepalis, as soldier, scholar and resident now lives in retirement with his surrogate son and family in a village of the Throne of Stone. 'My beloved *karma bhumi*' as he loves to call it. It was as an accepted and trusted member of the Dura community that the writer – besides obtaining oral history at 'grey-beard level' stretching back as far back as 500 years – also got the rare opportunity to look at records held in private homes for the same period. According to the author, in one case the record was never shown to anyone outside the family before. It was this trust that enabled him to fit in the pieces and put the whole story together.

The story takes the reader back to those very far off days before unification; attempts to answer some long forgotten questions and relates matters and events thought insignificant at the time to even deserve mention, or which to this day remained buried in the dim and remote past. The principal characters numbering some sixty six that stride the ancient stage and light the pages of the volume are either of Mongolian or Indo Aryan stock and belong mostly to the mountainous north of Nepal. They are either petty kings or chieftains and some mere 'robber barons' that controlled and fought bitterly over large or small tracts of land. These ancient actors "...were riddled with ritual, saturated with superstition and none immune to omen. Only a few have ever had their names previously noted. But without them the cauldron of the future of Nepal would surely have cooked a different brew."

The book consists of three neatly divided sections and in all consists of 14 chapters.

Father: 1479-1480.

Son: 1491-1496.

Grandson: 1557-1559.

The first section starts off amidst the Hindu *Dashera* festival in the Tura village of Turlung. The gory annual sacrifice of a tethered buffalo to be beheaded at one clean stroke and thus usher in good luck and ward off evil for the year is about to take place. But contrary to expectations the ritual goes badly wrong and the Chief Khaje Tura anxious of a successful outcome is bitterly disappointed. As a result, he now fears a crisis may befall the land. The first threat comes from Nuwakot to the west, a few days journey from

Turlung, famine stalks the land and the seed corn is already used up, the treasure chest is almost empty and the people, the brainy Khans of Aryan stock are desperate. The original plan is to cultivate the nearby Turas, assess their strengths and weaknesses and then annex Lamjung. The Ghales of Puindi up to the north smarting from tribal insult inflicted upon them through the secret marriage of the Ghale Chief's son to the sister of Khaje pose the second threat. The Ghales accordingly make plans to harass and kidnap some Turas to get even and thus get the upper hand in future dealings with them.

Meanwhile in the Nar monastery up in the high mountains the *Ramboche* and the most trusted chief trading monk discuss bringing in two more boys of fresh blood suitable as acolytes for the monastery. How the boys were brought in, whether through means fair or foul, through hypnotism or kidnapping did not seem to matter, as the two boys brought in earlier had been miserable failures. Khaje Tura is blissfully unaware that the unexpected threat from the third quarter could ever come about. Neither did the *Ramboche* know "that his order to bring in two boys of quality would change the course of history, irrevocably." (Pp. 25)

It is these events, coupled with the kidnapping of the sons of Khaje and Kulamandan of Nuwakot by the chief trading monk to be taken as acolytes for the Nar monastery, their ultimate rescue by the combined search parties headed by the fathers concerned; the tragic death of Tile the son of Khaje Tura; the bond of friendship – the *mit* ceremony – ultimately struck between the Houses of Lamjung and Nuwakot in true traditional Hindu fashion in spite of thoughts of forceful expansion harbored earlier by the latter that triggers off the beginning of this change and forms the first part of the book.

The second section of the book shifts to Kathmandu, the 'Nepal of the Three Towns' as it was known then; its King the scheming Ratna Malla and his ambition of bringing the entire Kathmandu Valley under his rule; the mysterious deaths of twelve powerful Malla courtiers in the process, the fierce hunt for the culprit that follows resulting in two trials by ordeal with unexpected results; a strange prophecy that proves to be uncannily accurate; Khaje's disappointment with his wayward and good for nothing second son that leads to his being deprived as successor to his father, the son as a result secretly joining the Puindi Ghales the sworn enemies of the Turas; Khaje's request to his friend Kulamandan Khan for his sons to be rulers of Lamjung and the King of the Turas; the epic wrestling match that decides the major differences between Moslem rulers of Delhi and Bihar as a result of which a

small Hindu village up in the hills of Nepal was raided; unsuccessful efforts at peace making between Turas and Puindi Ghales resulting in the bloody hand to hand combat between the parties on the banks of the Marsyangdi river etc.

The third section deals with the death of Raja Yasobam of Nuwakot; the bitter and deep rooted differences between his eldest son Narahari and the youngest Drabya Shah, the latter's decision to take part in the annual race up to the mountain top with the help of his faithful Tura friends and thus be the ruler of Liglig and the overlord of Barpak, the plans, rehearsals and strategies to be victorious no matter what; the secret pact with the Brahman courtiers of Gorkha and the oath of secrecy by Drabya to get rid of Khadga Raja of Gorkha --regarded to be impure of blood by the Brahmans to be the ruler-- and be King in his place in the case of victory, the ultimate success of the plan through sheer courage, ruthlessness and will power; Narahari's insistence that Drabya hand over the acquired territories to him as King and to be under the jurisdiction of Nuwakot, Drabya's refusal and the attack on his person as a result during the *Shradda* (ancestor worship) ceremony wherein he almost loses his life; another showdown between the brothers and an attempt at emotional blackmail by Narahari during the *Dashera* festival when he as according to custom, refused to apply *Tika* on Drabya when the latter did not concede to his wishes. The section also deals with the kidnapping and the escape of beautiful Maya Tura, Drabya's first love, who he wants to make his queen in spite of her married status and ends on a somewhat sad note --a dramatic irony of sorts. Maya never knows that it is actually Drabya the man she had always loved, who orders her kidnap.

The book is well researched and coming as it does from the pen of a soldier, the sections where planning and strategies are employed by the rulers while preparing for battle, an ambush, or an attack stands out and is worked out in meticulous detail. Having probably witnessed battle scenes in the raw as a soldier and that too at a dangerously close range, the experience seems to have helped the author tremendously in providing a sense of realism to the battle scenes in the book. In this context, the description of the hand to hand combats especially, come frightfully alive within the pages of the volume. The following examples will help illustrate the case in point.

"Wraithlike they approached the unsuspecting sentry. Ahmed paused a couple of feet away and, in one movement, pulled the man's head back as, with the other hand, he clamped his mouth. A split second later Mandhoj's

kukri cut his windpipe and the man sank back into Ahmed's arms with a throaty gurgle as air from his lungs escaped with a rush of blood." (Pp. 174)

"The fight started. Drabya and Jaman, weapons at the ready, hurled their spears, sped on, cut, cut again, withdrew their spears and carried on up, opening doors, cutting, stabbing, shouting, killing and winning as they came to the top of the stronghold. A grizzled warrior drew his kukri and charged at them. They sidestepped, tripped him in his frenzy and callously killed him as he tried to regain his balance. They heard curses, shouts of triumph, shrieks of terror, they smelt the defecation of the dying, the blood of the newly cut and the fear of the prisoners." (Pp. 309)

"Drabya only had the much smaller kukri with him but he did not hesitate for one moment. He leapt at Mahare, feinted, bobbed and swayed ready to move any direction, unimpeded by the light weight of the kukri, eyes piercingly watching the other man's every movement. Mahare became even more enraged at Drabya's arrogance and temerity, but was handicapped by his much heavier weapon. He also cleverly feinted, lifted his scimitar over his head and made a feint at Drabya who thrust forward only to back out in the nick of time as the weapon was brought down with tremendous force. Before Mahare could lift it again, Drabya sidestepped, raised his right arm and brought his blade down on the top of the man's skull, splitting it in two. Blood and brains gushed and spurted everywhere and Drabya had to put his right leg on the twitching body to wrench the weapon out. He stood up, snarling, eyes red, a cruel, savage killing machine, ready to do battle with anyone who dared him, covered in the remains of the dead man's shattered body." (Pp.310)

The author is equally meticulous when describing the holy *mit* ceremony, or the bond of holy friendship, performed according to traditional Hindu rites between the Houses of Lamjung and Nuwakot.

"Stripped to their inner clothes and fully immersed in the icy river, the two men faced the sun. Shutting their eyes, they cupped water in their hands as they took the oath they had decided upon – "for as long as the sun and moon shine on the earth our Houses will be allies." (Pp.129)

But easily and by far the best portion of the book is the annual race to the mountaintop, wherein the victor sits on the Throne of Stone and is proclaimed the ruler of Liglig for one year. The description with attention to the minutest detail, of the strategies employed -fair or foul- and the intense preparation for the race by contestants to win at all costs, come what may, brings the very spirit of the ancient race, with its drunken brawls and cheering

crowds, miraculously alive. A part of the description of the race to the top quoted below graphically brings home the point.

"If I lose this, his brain shrieked, I am lost. Both he and Drabya were equally determined to win. Unfortunately for Drabya he slipped, stumbling on a stone that had become loose when Mahare trod on it at an angle. He lurched forward and put his arms out to stop a nasty fall at the same moment as his rival slowed down to burp and fart the gasses that all that *raksi* had generated in his stomach. There was a crash as the two bodies met and Drabya's weight carried Mahare forward at an angle. He tripped and fell, Drabya falling on top so breaking the impact. As his two helpers helped him up, they were pushed from behind but Jaman was ready and weighed in with zeal so making the confusion even more shambolic. From the bottom of the mountain all that could be seen was a mass of tumbling bodies. ...Jaman overtook him and, at the last prearranged spot before they debauched onto the valley floor, cleverly managed to trip Mahare who went flying through the air, turning over as he went. He gave a yell of woe that quickly turned to a scream of pain as he landed, face up, in a thorn bush. The others dashed past him, Jaman giving way to Drabya who, lungs bursting, passed the others to arrive first. To the deafening roars of applause he slowed down, came to a stop, turned away from the rush of folk who came to congratulate him and puked his guts out – ghee, *raksi*, the lot." (Pp. 303)

Another major highlight of the book is the epic wrestling match between Kulamandan Khan and Mahmud the Magnificent that resolved the quarrel between Moslem rulers in Delhi and Bihar as a result of which a small Hindu village up in the mountains was raided with gruesome results. The reader cannot help thinking that the writer, with a bit of research on the art of freestyle wrestling, could have laid more emphasis on the wrestling match and described it in realistic fashion, as he does the annual race to the mountain top. As it stands, the description of the wrestling match leaves much to be desired and appears somewhat mundane considering the level of anticipation and suspense whipped up before the event.

The principal characters are well drawn, true to the times and throb with life and vigour. They are convincing, come out strongly, as they stride the ancient stage. The translation of the song that Maya Tura sings at the end of the story deserves special mention. The translation is brilliant, flows smoothly and is authentically poetic.

"With laughter do I dream my dreams,
 While wide-awake I weep.
 My love has gone for good, it seems,
 Our tryst we cannot keep.
 The snow-capped Hills, the peacock's screams,
 Are all of life a part.
 In waking hours and in my dreams,
 My love you stole my heart."

It is only the last four lines, quoted below, that somehow do not follow the regular rhyme scheme and the first line that lacks the flow and smoothness of the others.

"In our next life you'll be my wife,
 You'll be my very own,
 And we'll be seen as king and queen
 On the Lamjung Throne of Stone."

If the Tura song allows and does not deviate from the original, maybe the translation could be slightly altered so as to maintain the flow and the regular ab, ab, rhyme scheme.

*In the life hereafter, my wife you'll be,
 You'll be my very own,
 And seen as King and Queen we'll be,
 On the Lamjung Throne of Stone.*

Though a Thesaurus for Nepali words used in the text is provided at the end, it would be easy on the readers if Nepali words -spelt correctly as pronounced- like *gundruk*, *ghee*, *chiura*, *ijjat*, *raksi*, *kos*, *jar*, etc. etc. freely used in the text were italicized to avoid confusion. In comparison, the curved Nepali or Gorkha knife the *khukuri* surprisingly spelt *kukri* in the book -the incorrect anglicized version- though forgivable in the case of other western writers cannot be so in the case of *Belaaiti Maailo*. His having spent some 56 years of his life with Nepalis as scholar, resident and moreover as a soldier and speaking the language like a native will just not permit it. The typographical errors are quite abundant and give the impression of the volume being unceremoniously hurried through the press. Though relevant parts of

the map of Nepal and north east India are given at the end of the book, a detailed political map of Nepal along with relevant portions of north east India with the present day international boundaries would be more helpful to study those parts in proper perspective.

The lines: "A fine fellow like you should have no difficulty in seducing one of those rich Newari women with gold ornaments in their nose and ears – that will give you a double satisfaction." (Pp. 200) harbors a factual error in the sense that Newar women unlike most of their other Nepali counterparts do not according to tradition pierce or wear ornaments on their noses. Besides, to break the monotony usually associated in reading thick volumes, maybe a dozen or so sketches of the main events covered, especially the annual race to the top and the wrestling match, could be included to further enhance a brilliantly written *unputdownable* book. A treasure-trove, a perfect theme for a film or a Tele-serial!

– Ananda P Srestha

BOOK REVIEW

Leadership in Nepal. 2001. Lok Raj Baral, Krishna Hachhethu and Hari Sharma. Delhi: Adroit Publishers, ix + 142 pp. Price IRs 300 (cloth).

This book presents the findings of a survey of the background and attitudes of a sample of national and local political leaders carried out by the Nepal Centre for Contemporary Studies with assistance from the Embassy of Finland in Nepal. The authors are well-known scholars, two of whom also have practical experience of government: Lok Raj Baral, Nepal's leading political scientist, headed a committee set up by Girija Koirala's first administration to make recommendations concerning the agreement with India on the Tanakpur project and was also appointed ambassador to India by the Deuba government in 1996; Krishna Hachhethu has published numerous articles on Nepalese politics since the 'People's Movement' of 1990 and is the author of a forthcoming study of party organisation; and Hari Sharma was Principal Secretary to Prime Minister Girija Prasad Koirala during his tenure in 1991-1994 and 1998-2001.

The study commences with an overview of analyses of leadership offered in political science literature including the trait, behavioural and contingency theories. Some readers will find this section rather jargon-ridden, and, as elsewhere in the book, the copy-editing could have been more thorough. However, the authors rightly focus on the key question of how far leaders simply play the system and how far they are able to bring about positive change; their preferred terms for the distinction are James Burn's 'transactional' and 'transformatory' leadership. In considering Nepal's situation since the restoration of parliamentary democracy, they consider that Joshi and Rose's analysis for the 1950s is basically still valid: despite an avowed break with the past, the politics of personality and patronage remains dominant.

Broadening the scope to South Asia as a whole, the authors point out (p.20-21) that in the region political leaders' legitimacy often rested originally on their role in struggles for independence or for democracy but

that dominant parties – especially the Indian National Congress – then sought to buttress their position by alliances with traditional forces at local level. In the Indian case this arrangement is now unravelling with the increased mobilisation of other sectors of the population. The prominence in the politics of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh of the 'other backwards castes' is an example in point, as is the earlier success of the anti-Brahman movement in South India. In contrast in Pakistan and Bangladesh the older 'feudal' structures remain dominant and this is also too a large extent the case in Nepal. 'The social and economic basis of all élites of Nepal are similar and their political socialisation in authoritarian and feudalistic norms and values remain unchanged' (p.28). The book went to press before last November's renewed Maoist uprising and the insurgency, now in its sixth year, is not discussed, but it could be argued that this generalisation is applicable to the Maoist leadership as well as to those operating within the parliamentary system.

The authors do not make it clear precisely when the fieldwork was carried out but it appears to have been after the United Marxist-Leninist (UML) split in March 1998 and before the June 1999 general election. Data was obtained principally from 100 'local leaders', 50 of them office holders at district and fifty at VDC or municipality level in Dadheldura (Far-Western hills) Dhanusha (Mid-Eastern Tarai) and Ilam (Eastern hills), districts dominated at the time respectively by Congress, the ML and the UML. Reflecting the relative strength of the parties in the 1997 local elections, 33 respondents were chosen from Congress, 44 from the UML, 17 from the RPP and 6 from other parties. Subsidiary data was obtained from twenty-one central level leaders and from fifty members of the general public.

Assuming that the sample is indeed a random one, the caste/ethnic background of leaders at the grassroots is quite similar to the picture at national level. Fifty-five per cent of the local leaders were Brahmans or Chetris, compared with an average of just under sixty per cent for the composition of the national legislature over the last forty years. The study also finds that fifty-five percent of the local leaders came from 'élite' families. Included in this category were those families whose members had held official positions such as village headman or revenue collector during the Rana period; Brahman priests (presumably excluding those Brahmans (a majority) who do not carry out priestly functions); Mahajans (an old term for rich merchants, presumably covering families that been traders since the Rana period); and those who now hold office in the civil service or in political

parties. One can quibble with the imprecise definitions of some of these categories but the overall picture is probably accurate. The authors themselves are also, I think, right to conclude that although traditionally dominant groups retain an advantageous position, their dominance is slowly being diluted.

In the case of the 'untouchable' occupational castes, progress has been particularly slow. Like many others, the authors do not focus sufficiently on this aspect, concentrating instead on the relative positions of the Parbatia high castes and the *janajatis*. They do, however, point out in the discussion of Dadeldhura (p.87) that the occupational castes are totally excluded from power, despite being around 25% of the district's population (the 1991 census showed that they make up around 10% of the national population).

Comparisons between the representatives of the major parties show that the ethnic and class background of Congress and UML local leaders is not too dissimilar. Brahmins dominate in both and most leaders are drawn from the middle or lower middle classes, though the proportion of middle to lower middle is higher for Congress than for the Communists. Chhetris rather than Brahmins predominate in the Rastriya Prajatantra Party, which is consistent with the higher numbers of Chhetris than Brahmins in the legislature in the Panchayat period, a situation reversed in the post-1990 period.¹

While the above findings are much as most people would have expected, there are one or two surprises. There have been complaints from party veterans that Congress was virtually taken over by the so-called 'Chaite Congressmen', ex-panchas who joined the party after the success of the People's Movement in April 1990; to a lesser extent there has also been concern over the 'Kartike Communists', who reinvented themselves as Leftists the following autumn. The survey data shows, however, that the great majority of local leaders had been with their present party from the start of their political careers. In addition, despite the importance attributed to the role of school masters as UML activists, very few teachers were found within the sample, although about a third of those questioned in all parties had entered politics in their student days.

Also interesting is the seeming implication of one question included in the survey: 'What was your occupation before you took politics as a profession' (p.83). Are we to suppose that, even at village level, members of elected bodies are normally full-time politicians? There is perhaps a link here with the general perception of politicians as selfish and corrupt, a perception acknowledged by the local leaders themselves, even though, when asked to

select from a list of qualities that might distinguish leaders from ordinary people, 'selflessness' is one of their top choices. The authors summarise the problem thus: 'The leaders and political élites, in general, have approached politics as a profession, an earning source which, in turn, becomes a resource for winning elections and for perpetuating positions of power. It has thus created a nexus between the politicians and illegitimate sources of income. Money power also brings with it the muscle power for furthering the prospects of electoral gains.' (p.67).

Although the book does not deal with the extra-systemic challenge posed by the Maoists, most readers will naturally look for clues in it to the roots of the present (January 2002) critical situation. The survey to some extent confirms the general consensus that failure to meet the high expectations engendered by the 1990 is a large part of the picture. Politicians have been expected by their constituents to deliver material benefits which have not materialised. The leaders themselves seem to see the pressure upon them mostly in terms of individuals' demands for help finding jobs or other specific figures, whilst the ordinary voters surveyed claim to be more focussed on the public interest. The difference between these two perspectives is perhaps not that great since the 'public' in question will often be a very specific group. Against this background the Messianic solution promised by the Maoists has been particularly attractive to those who feel the most marginalised, whilst the 'People's War' also offers a seeming method of advancement educated youngsters whose own personal aspirations for social mobility have been blocked.² The personalised and clientelistic nature of the political process also makes it particularly important in Nepal (as in much of the Third World) to maintain good relations with the dominant power, whoever that might be. In voting, villages may often be trying to predict rather than to select the winner and, in a civil war situation, this applies even more strongly to a decision to help either the rebels or the security forces. Another relevant dimension to village politics is the tendency for rival clans or factions to seek backing from rival forces outside the village, in which case cleavages will not necessarily follow neat class or ideological lines.³

These issues are all ones which merit further investigation but it would be unfair to expect a very specifically focussed work such as the one under review to go thoroughly into them. Despite copy-editing/proof-reading problems (particularly evident in the charts on pages 23 and 73) and the failure to provide a full enough account of survey methodology, the book

is a useful contribution to our understanding of Nepalese politics at local level and deserves the attention of all specialists in the field.

Notes

1. However, it is worth noting that the Chhetri predominance over Brahmins under the Panchayat appears to have depended on the system of royal nomination. In the 1981 Rastriya Panchayat, the representation of the two castes was exactly the same if only elected members are counted (figures by Harka Gurung given in DREFDEN, *Report on the Study and Research on the Local Elections in Nepal, 1992*, Kathmandu, 1993, p.7, TableA-12.)
2. Anne de Sales's characterisation of the active insurgents ('The Kham Magar Country, Nepal: Between Ethnic Claims and Maoism.' *European Bulletin of Himalayan Research* 19, 2000, p.63) is interesting in this context: 'The 'people's army' is organised in such a way that the fighters in any one district always come from outside it. They are mostly young peasants (all castes mixed up), some of whom have suffered setbacks when attempting to emigrate to the town or abroad.'
3. De Sales (ib.) gives the example of two clans in one Magar village aligned respectively with Congress and the UPF. Rival villages may similarly back rival parties (Frederick H. Gaige & John Stolz, "The 1991 Parliamentary Election in Nepal: Freedom and Stability," in Dharamdarshani (ed.), *Democratic Nepal*, Varanasi: Shalimar, 1992, p.50.)

- John Whelpton